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ECONOMICS OF FASHION

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PREFACE

Fashion is one of the greatest forces in present-day life. It pervades every field and reaches every class. Fashion leads business and determines its direction. It has always been a factor in human life but never more forceful, never more influential and never wider in scope than in the last decade and it gives every indication of growing still more important.

Fashion makes men shave every day, wear shirts with collars attached, two-button sack suits, four-in-hand ties, soft gray felt hats, trousers creased, B.V.D.'s in winter and low shoes all the year round. It makes women wear less clothing than ever before in modern times. It changes the tint of the face powder, the odor of the perfume, the wave of the hair, the position of the waist line, the length of the skirt, the color of the hose, the height of the heels. Fashion is a stronger factor than wear and tear in displacing automobiles, furniture, kitchen utensils, pianos, phonographs, radio instruments and bath tubs. Fashion causes all of this and at the same time makes people like it. To be out of fashion is, indeed, to be out of the world.

Usefulness, durability, fastness of color, purity and other similar qualities are still as fundamental and important as they ever were, but the advances in methods of production and the care exercised both by manufacturers and distributors in giving the consumer what he wants makes careful consideration by the consumer upon these points largely unnecessary.

Less than a fair degree of fastness of color in present-day textiles is inexcusable. A modern automobile motor that will not deliver its rated horsepower is unthinkable. When an established retailer advertises fabric as all wool and a yard wide

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the statement is unhesitatingly accepted. Exceptions are highly infrequent. Manufacturers are now making goods so well and retailers are generally so careful in their advertised statements about them that the masses of consumers have learned to accept them without question as to materials and workmanship. The important but ordinary qualities of goods are now for the most part taken for granted.

But not so with fashion. Here every faculty of consumer choice comes into play. Goods are carefully studied, compared and considered, not to determine what their construction is, but to be sure that they are in the proper style. Goods may have all other qualities but if they are not in fashion they will not be accepted.

Such then is the importance of the subject of this book. Business succeeds when it goes with fashion, it fails when it goes against the tide. Millions are wasted yearly by manufacturers and retailers who try to stem the trends of fashion in the interests of goods and styles that are not in fashion and have not a chance of becoming the fashion. The next important problem before business is the development of a technique for merchandising with, not independently of, nor against, fashion. Some progress in isolated instances has already been made.

The steps to be taken in meeting and solving the problems of fashion in business are, namely:

1. To find out what fashion is and how it operates.
2. To determine what the causes of fashion are and what factors influence its movements.
3. To determine definitely what the present fashions are.
4. To determine the current trends of fashion and to use the information so obtained in practical prediction of coming fashions.

It is the purpose of this book to present a well considered statement of information and suggestion upon each of these points. It also presents the historical background of current fashions and a critical analysis of the industrial and commercial developments in the field of fashion that have occurred since the World War.

Many of the illustrations and examples have been drawn from the textile, apparel and furniture fields, but the principles of fashion herein stated are as valid and as clearly subject to practical application in the automobile, wall paper, floor covering, drapery, curtain, kitchen utensil, musical instrument and radio industries as in millinery, hats and caps, footwear, clothing for both men and women, cosmetics, jewelry. They are in fact applicable in every line of goods used by consumers. The purpose has been to state the principles of fashion not only in such a way as to stimulate thought but also to serve practical purposes as widely as possible.

Any attempt to list the sources from which the author has drawn help in the preparation of this volume would require a great deal of space. The author has gathered material from reading, from conferences with men and women working in the fashion field and from first hand experience and observation as a business executive in industries profoundly affected by fashion for a period of nearly twenty years. Obviously it would be impossible to refer to more than a small number of the sources drawn upon in that time.

As director of the Retail Research Association from 1921 to 1927 the author enjoyed a highly interesting and valuable contact with the merchandising of fashion goods in the seventeen department stores making up the group. These stores include some of the most successful retail institutions in the world. Deep appreciation must be expressed for the opportunity to see fashion merchandising from the inside in these stores.

Much practical help and advice has been given by Mr. Amos Parrish and his associates of Amos Parrish, Inc., in the development of viewpoint and perspective. Both *Harper's Bazar* and *Vogue,* the leading women's fashion periodicals, have been the source of constant information and suggestion to further thought throughout the entire period of the author's study of the subject. *Women's Wear*—that live, aggressive and ably produced trade paper—has proved a splendid current text book on fashion from which the author has freely drawn. Other periodicals, such as the *Dry Goods Economist,* the *National Retail Clothier,* the *Boot and Shoe Recorder,* and the *Grand Rapids Furniture Record,* have supplied many important facts and judgments in editorial and feature articles that have been invaluable.

Special acknowledgment is due to the careful, painstaking help and practical advice given by Miss Medora M. Ward, who has assisted in the preparation of the manuscript and who has made several detailed contributions of material embodied in this work.

Paul H. Nystrom.

New York, September 12, 1928.

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ECONOMICS OF FASHION

CHAPTER I

WHAT ABOUT FASHION?

Fashion, style, fad, craze, taste and good taste are words that are used by everybody, but with very widely differing meanings. The definitions to be presented here are not offered in criticism of the usage of others, but solely as an aid to the reader in determining what is meant in this work as the subject is developed and analyzed.

That there is needed some clarification and standardization of these terms in common usage is certain, but the accomplishment of such a general reform in popular usage would be very difficult if not impossible and certainly is beyond the purpose of this book. It is hoped, however, that the terms used in this book and as defined here may prove helpful to students and to business people who desire to analyze this interesting and complex subject.

Definitions

Style is a characteristic or distinctive mode or method of expression, presentation or conception in the field of some art. Thus we may have a style of dress, a style of interior decoration, a style of conversation, a style of golf playing, a style of penmanship, as well as styles of architecture, sculpture, painting, literature, drama, music and philosophy. There are styles in religion and politics as well as in millinery and automobiles. There are styles in popular heroes and in ideals of men and women. There are styles in doing business, in trading, in banking, in salesmanship and in advertising. There are styles in illness and disease, and certainly in methods of

therapy. Our laws, our courts and our administration of justice are subject to styles. There are well-marked styles in methods of punishment of crime. Education, itself made up of styles, is largely a training of the young in styles of thinking, manners and ways of doing things. There are styles in amusements, games, dances, hobbies, pets, uses of tobacco, liquor drinking, flirtation, lovemaking and marriage.

There are styles in posture, standing, walking, sitting, gesture, shaking hands, use of slang, profanity, pronunciation, accent, key of voice and inflection. There are even styles in the human figure. The Caribs of Surinam favored the style of large calves of the legs and strove by binding the legs to make the calves look as large as possible. Certain races of Indians in America thought flattened heads a desirable style feature. Australian natives considered flat noses the best looking and accordingly bound their babies' noses to secure just the right style. Some races have admired styles of slimness, others plumpness. Some people at certain times have aimed at narrow waists, others at wide hips, others at large abdomens, others at elongated breasts, others at blondness and so on. There is scarcely a period in history in which desirable styles in figure of the human body have not involved some form of mutilation or deformation.

These examples are merely illustrative of the extent of the field of style. Large textbooks have been written describing the styles in limited fields, such as interior decoration and furnishing, architecture, or painting. Textbooks could probably be written on every subject mentioned.

Fashion is nothing more nor less than the prevailing style at any given time. Styles constantly change, some rapidly, some slowly. Whenever a style is followed or accepted, it is the fashion. Thus every important style has at one time or another been the fashion. It may even have had fashion revivals, but a style is still a style even if it is not in fashion. There

are countless styles, but there can of necessity be but a limited number of fashions.

In every period of time certain styles become the fashions. Modern art, so called, is not only a distinctive form of art expression, that is, a style, but it is also a growing fashion. It seems to be gaining ground very rapidly by application to all branches of applied and decorative arts. It has appeared in furniture, in interior decorations, in china-ware and glass, in jewelry, in apparel, in kitchen utensils, in automobiles, in piano design, in theatrical scenery and even in architecture. Modern art is an illustration of a major style becoming the fashion in our own day.

Mode is a synonym for fashion. The mode or fashion is the style generally accepted at the given time.

A *Fad* is merely a miniature fashion in some unimportant matter or detail. It comes into existence by the introduction of some novelty that excites interest as well as surprise. It is more or less widely taken up or imitated by others and the fad, or miniature fashion, is started. In recent years we have had fads of Deauville scarfs, flopping goloshes, Russian boots, Helen Wills tennis caps, kewpies, Mary Pickford curls, Chaplin moustaches, Ford jokes, rose-enameled finger nails, finale hoppers, rolled stockings, grotesque spider-like dolls, King Tut designs, women's handbags shaped like dogs, rag flowers, etc. Fads, like fashions, invade every field—sports, literature, religion, medicine, politics and education. For a brief period we have great interest in the sport of dog racing. Then we rush to telepathy, psychoanalysis, wearing sandals, fortune-telling, ukelele playing, ping pong, mah jong, cross-word puzzles, and ask-me-another fads.

Many things that come in as fads become veritable fashions and carry over for several seasons. In fact, it is very difficult to draw a line between fads and fashions. Much depends upon one's personal viewpoint as to what is important and what is

unimportant. What is important and far-reaching is a fashion, and what is unimportant and insignificant is a fad. Psychologically and scientifically they both seem to be about the same, varying only in degree of practical importance.

A *Craze* is a fad or fashion that is accompanied by much crowd excitement or emotion. There are numerous instances of widespread crazes recorded in history such as the tulip craze in Holland in 1634, the South Sea Bubble in 1720, the Mississippi Bubble, also about 1720, the Klondike rush in 1898, and so on. Real estate booms, financial panics and oil strikes are all characterized by craze.

Like the fad, a craze usually does not last very long. In the nature of things, crazes do not as a rule appear in the realm of consumption, so that the word "craze" is hardly ever applicable in the study of the economics of fashion.

Other terms almost constantly used in discussions concerning fashion and style are *Taste* and *Good Taste*. Everybody agrees that taste is essential to the designer, the buyer, the stylist, and the consumer who would be well dressed. One often hears that so-and-so has good taste. One occasionally hears a buyer say that the reason for his large mark-downs is the absence of good taste among his customers. In several years of experience with buyers the writer has never encountered one who admitted a personal lack of this thing called good taste. There does not seem to be any general agreement among those who use this term as to what is meant by it.

Taste may be defined as the ability to discern and appreciate what is beautiful and appropriate. Taste in the field of style is sensitivity to what is artistic as well as in keeping with prevailing usage among people. There are many styles which are artistically beautiful, but, because they are not in fashion, good taste forbids their present use. There may be much in a present-day fashion that is inartistic or even ugly, but good

taste adapts and applies it, and at the same time tries to secure a beautiful effect from it in current use.

Can the principles of good taste be enumerated and set down? Can good taste be taught and learned? There are, undoubtedly, fundamental principles of art which have the universality of law and which, when offended, constitute bad taste. Such principles can be learned and the grosser errors of tastes offending against art thereby eliminated.

The difficulty in trying to set down the principles of good taste lies not only in determining what is truly artistic, but at the same time what is in fashion. Good taste is essentially making the most artistic use of the current fashions. Good taste bridges the gap between good art and common usage.

There is always a human equation to be considered in applying good taste to objects of fashion. There must be a fine balancing of one's own feeling of what is beautiful and appropriate with what is likely to be considered beautiful and appropriate by others.

In business positions requiring a certain amount of good taste, as in the design, production, selection, display and sale of goods, fairly good results have been obtained up to the present by the employment of people who in their feelings and reactions toward such merchandise are average, typical or representative of great masses of consumers. What they have designed and selected has been, in turn, accepted by consumers in large numbers. This average quality in a designer or a buyer has been and still is a priceless thing. It is probably the most valuable quality needed by the person who aims to cater to general public taste.

Such designers and buyers would undoubtedly be helped by a systematic study of the principles of art, provided this study did not upset the balance of appreciation for the average viewpoint, which is made up not only of what people think

is intrinsically beautiful but also what they think is appropriate, that is, what is in fashion.

But something more than principles of art is needed in the education of consumers, buyers, designers and manufacturers, and that is a similar body of principles, if this be possible, defining fashion, its behavior, its influence and its modification of people's sense of the artistic. It is the aim of this book to make a beginning in setting up the principles governing the movements of fashion.

Exceedingly important as fashion is both to the individual consumer and to all business catering to the fashion demands of consumers, probably less is known about it than about any other human activity. Oceans of material have been written and spoken about fashion, but there is very little that shows what fashion really is, how it arises and declines, what its causes are and what principles govern its activity.

The writers and students of fashion have for the most part confined themselves to fashion news such as reporting the observed fashions at gatherings of fashionable people, and to fashion predictions in articles that are, more often than not, inspired and intended to influence consumer demand in order that certain manufacturers' goods might be sold. Other statements have appeared on the economic wastes of fashions, their immorality and sinfulness; still others have appeared on fashion reform, as, for example, twenty-five years ago on the evils of tight lacing and occasionally in 1928 against tight shoes, high heels and scanty clothing.

Then there are always with us the smartly written fashion articles trying to be funny. Fashion seems to have been one of the seven original jokes. The title of a recent article along this line was "The Terrible Consequences of Clothes with Women in Them."

Very little effort has been made to explain fashion scientifically. Most sociologists merely take fashion for granted

and pass over it with merely a mention of its existence. There is very little in any English textbook on the subject. According to the best of information at hand, the first educational course on the subject of fashion in any school or college was conducted in Columbia University during the spring session of 1926 under the title "Consumer Demand."

The Power of Fashion

Fashion seems to be the result of powerful forces in human nature. Men have laughed at fashion but the wiser ones have always known that it could not be flouted or neglected. The influence of fashion over the human mind is such as to make a style, when accepted, seem beautiful, no matter how hideous it may appear at other times when not in fashion. It is hard to believe that the hoop skirt, the bustle and the leg o'mutton sleeve were once considered very charming and highly appropriate. No doubt the present fashions will in time seem just as ridiculous and even, possibly, as hideous as do these past styles seem to us now.

If any reader of this should doubt the power of fashion, let him try a simple experiment and note his own reactions. Let him put on clothes or even a hat such as worn by a past generation and then go out as casually as he can among his acquaintances or in fact among strangers and note, first, their reactions toward him and then his feelings toward himself. There will be quizzical looks, doubtful stares and critical estimates. He will be thought queer. He will be judged as lacking in brain power and, perhaps, as an undesirable person. If he persists in his experiment, he will, if he is an employee, lose his job. He will lose his customers if he is a salesman. He will lose his votes if he is a politician. He will lose his custom if he is a doctor or lawyer. He will lose all of his friends.

No man can belong to present-day society and at the same time be completely out of present-day fashions.

The experimenter need only wear his hat where others go bareheaded or go bareheaded where others wear hats to begin to feel the discomforting feeling of being queer and being thought odd. Whether we will or not, such is our dependence upon fashion.

Effects of Fashion on Business

It is not easy, as many business men have found to their expense and sorrow, by any means of sales promotion to control or turn fashion movements from their destined direction. Some of the most pathetic as well as greatest losses in the history of American business have been due to the efforts of business to stop the trends of fashion, to turn them backward or otherwise change them in some fundamental way.

Back in the early 70's when the hoop skirt was passing out of fashion, both manufacturers and retailers exerted every possible effort to make the women of this country continue the use of these horrors of dress. A great deal of money for that time was expended in this effort, but all to no avail.

In the latter part of the 80's and early 90's the fashion trend in men's shoes changed from "Congress gaiters" with elastic-gored sides to button and lace shoes. Lorin Deland, in his book "Imagination in Business," gives an instructive account of the struggle made by manufacturers and dealers to force the sale of "Congress gaiters" in spite of the trend toward lace and button shoes. The manufacturers of elastic-goring material who were chiefly concerned by the change in fashion contributed large amounts of money which were expended in advertising and promotion to stop the trend toward lace and button shoes and to save the market for "Congress gaiters," but the result was an absolute failure.

Similarly, during the period from 1909 to 1912 when the vogue of the hobble skirt developed, fabric manufacturers began to find that their sales were declining, and set about to discover ways and means by which to change the fashion trend to something that would be more profitable for them. Woolen, cotton and silk manufacturers worked both individually and collectively in trying to secure this result. Many efforts were made, including a very well-organized promotion campaign in 1912, for which many thousands of dollars were raised and expended. By this time it had come to be recognized even by the manufacturers and dealers that it would be hopeless to change the fashion trend back to a type of garment such as had been in use prior to 1909. Tighter skirts had been accepted so generally that efforts made in this special promotion were designed to secure a greater use of fabric by means of the adoption of a style known as a "pannier skirt" which really did not depart from a tight skirt but, by bunching and draping material at the back or sides, did require at least 50% more fabric. Those in charge of the big drive to put over the pannier skirt fashion started in Paris, secured the active cooperation of several Parisian dressmakers of international prominence who prepared models in the new styles desired by the manufacturers of fabrics. Next those in charge of the promotion of these new styles made provision to have them worn by leading actresses in Paris, London and New York. Simultaneously in the fall of 1912, well-written articles began to appear in the leading fashion magazines and newspapers describing the new pannier fashion and recounting its tremendous success in the style centers of the world. Manufacturers of ready-made apparel produced the garments and sold them to the retail trade. Pattern houses prepared their paper patterns showing thrifty housewives how to make their own and still be in the height of fashion. Leading department stores throughout the country were likewise sold on the

excellence and certainty of these new fashions and accordingly stocked their garment and yard goods departments in the expectation of big sales. Special efforts were made to secure attractive window displays. In fact everything was done that could be done to secure the widest possible promotion of a fashion.

It is difficult to estimate how much energy and money was put into this promotion campaign; it was probably one of the best examples of complete fashion organization and promotion the country has ever known. There remain but two or three sentences to complete the story. The whole effort turned out to be a complete failure. Consumers were never even mildly interested in pannier skirts. They had their own ideas about what they wanted to wear, and another instance of the futility of trying to change a major trend in consumer demand by the means available to business passed into history.

Ever since 1918 there have been a number of outstanding efforts to change or control the trends of fashion, all apparently fruitless. A great amount of time, thought and money have been applied during the last ten years in trying to bring back or to reintroduce fashion movements for women's suits, shirt-waists and separate skirts. Apparently every season this effort is repeated in spite of the fact that every available figure and index of sales in these items of goods showed a steady decline up to the end of 1927.

Similarly, extravagant and fruitless efforts have been made to redirect or control the fashion trends affecting the use of corsets, knit and muslin underwear, and millinery.

For more than two years, a group of people with large investments in ostrich farms have tried, in season and out, in Paris and London and to some extent in this country, to bring about some change in fashion that would make it possible to produce and sell a larger quantity of ostrich plumes. Ostrich feathers may come back into use again, but certainly there is

nothing at present to indicate that the effort made during the past five or six years to affect the fashion trend has had any influence whatsoever.

Following the war the fashion interest in jewelry declined very greatly and jewelers, both manufacturing and retailing, have attempted a great deal of promotion activity aimed at securing more consumer interest. Following 1925 there came something of a renaissance in jewelry fashions but apparently in unexpected lines such as costume jewelry and not at all in the lines advertised.

There have been numberless attempts by advertising and other methods of sales promotion to start new fashions which have landed in dismal failures. On the other hand, enormous fashion movements have established themselves and carried over the whole country without any apparent assistance from advertising and sales promotion whatsoever.

Fashion More Powerful Than Sales Promotion

Advertising men and business managers who pride themselves on their ability in sales promotion and on their ability to influence consumer demand may not like this statement, but there seems to be very little to indicate that any important trend of fashion has ever been changed by any form of sales promotion. On the other hand fashion movements have risen and become dominant even without sales promotion. For example, there was never any special promotion or program of publicity back of the vogue for soft felt hats for women which is probably one of the most dominant notes in present-day women's apparel.

During the winter of 1926-27 a demand suddenly manifested itself here in New York as well as in other cities for men's derby hats which had all but become extinct for several years past. Scarcely a men's furnishing shop had an adequate

supply of these hats to take care of their trade, and most manufacturers were likewise unprepared for the demand that arose.

No manufacturer, or dealer, for that matter, ever had imagination enough to foresee the demand of consumers for fashion in such a line of merchandise as nurses' uniforms, and yet the standard regulation hospital type of nurses' uniforms can no longer be sold to the masses of private nurses whose practice is outside of public hospitals, and who desire many touches of art and fashion in their professional apparel.

The story has been told that the inventor of the "zipper fastener" overshoe offered his device to several rubber shoe manufacturers in the country only to be turned down for the reason that none of them could see the possibility of consumer demand for what seemed so foolish a device. When this device was adopted by one of the leading companies the public immediately accepted it to such an extent that the factory was oversold and other manufacturers were hard pressed to discover some likely substitute to offset the competition of the lucky concern that had given it a trial.

Probably no manufacturer or dealer was anxious or desired in any way to see the adoption of color in overshoes. Consumer demand, however, asserted itself; manufacturers and dealers have been practically forced, in spite of their fears and against their wishes, to provide overshoes in a variety of fashions, shades and colors.

There has been an interesting evolution during the last ten or fifteen years in men's collars and shirts, no part of which, so far as is known, is the result of any form of sales promotion or advertising undertaken by any manufacturer or dealer. In fact the trends of fashion in these lines have for the most part caused the manufacturers as well as dealers great trouble and expense very difficult to recover.

Up to the early 1900's the common fashion in men's

linen collars was what was known as a straight or standing collar. Beginning about 1905 men from all over the country demanded turn-down collars. The turn-down collar was more difficult to manufacture, and required nearly double the amount of fabric that was used in the manufacture of the standing collar. It was not possible to revise prices so as to meet the increased expense of manufacture, so that, down to the period of the war, the new style of turn-down collar was sold at the same price as the standing collar. This meant a higher manufacturing expense and a reduced margin of profit for the manufacturers.

During this period the collar manufacturers used every known means of sales promotion to induce men to change their wants for the old type of collar but without results.

Then, following the period of the war, there grew up a new fashion demand among men for a soft collar instead of the stiff, starched collar. Most of the manufacturers were wholly unprepared for this, and the ones in position to take care of the demand in its earlier stages enjoyed an enormous business. In the course of time, all of the manufacturers were forced to start the production and sale of the soft type of collar.

About 1923 another fashion movement occurred favoring a shirt with collar attached instead of the detachable collar. The effect of this has been to raise very difficult problems for the collar manufacturers to solve. The fashion favoring the use of a collar attached to shirt has reduced the market for detached collars very greatly. It would have been worth millions to the collar manufacturers to have been able to stem this trend.

Similar illustrations might be drawn from the home furnishings and automobile fields. Manufacturers and dealers in furniture, floor coverings, wall papers, curtains, floor finishes, carpet sweepers and cleaners might easily testify to the great amount of fruitless effort that has been expended in trying

to induce the ultimate consumer to change the fashion trend even just a little. The automobile industry, as a whole, has shown a livelier regard for fashion influences than most other lines, but the competitive battles between the giants of the industry are constantly marked by moves made to approach more closely to what the consumer will accept as a part of the current fashion.

Obviously, there are very powerful forces at work in the field of fashion. When advertising and sales promotion are applied in the sale of goods in fashion there is success. When advertising and sales promotion ride in with the tide of fashion, they undoubtedly supplement each other very effectively.

There is always the temptation, however, to assume credit for the tide. Designers and manufacturers pride themselves on their productions when they happen to be successful, really because they happen to be in fashion, but blame the sales organization and the advertising when the public favors some other fashion. Buyers for retail stores boast of their personal ability and their success and collect big bonuses from their employers when the goods they handle sell well because they happen to be in fashion, but when fashion goes against their departments they lose their jobs.

It is possible to trace the effects of the trends of fashion in the classified want ads of the trade papers and metropolitan newspapers. Large numbers of buyers, salesmen or other workers trained in any specific line of merchandise looking for jobs is almost a sure sign of an adverse change in fashion. A rapid turnover of buyers or salesmen in any line is an indication of declining fashion. When fashion favors a business, because fashion is intangible, it is commonly overlooked and personal abilities are credited for the success. Thus the heroes of business, the Napoleons of finance, the captains of industry and the big business men of the world who are the objects of much popular worship are, more often than not, merely lucky

in riding in with the tide of great fashion movements. Such is the relation of fashion to personal success.

In conclusion, fashion is a social phenomenon of great power, the recognition of which should be helpful to all classes of business engaged in the production and distribution of fashion lines. From such information as is available from past experience, it seems that merchandising, when in conflict with fashion movement, has very little chance of success. There is constantly a great deal of waste of energy as well as of money in producing and pushing style merchandise that is not in fashion, in advertising what is not in fashion, in giving valuable window and floor display to what is not in fashion, and in keeping capital tied up in what is not in fashion.

It would seem that a necessary step towards better merchandising of fashion goods would be to get more information about these fashion movements, in other words, to substitute facts for guesses, reasoning for hunches, and a bit of science for the prevailing mystery regarding fashion.

When we know more about fashion movements, we will make our merchandising plans work with them instead of, as at present in a large number of cases, independently of them, and too often actually against them. Merchandising success seems to be the result of working with trends. The business concern working with the trend of fashion makes progress easily. The business concern working against fashion has a hard time of it. The problem from the standpoint of industry is how to shift productive ability from lines of waning fashion interest to lines in growing demand. The problem for both producer and distributor is to find out as promptly as possible what lines are waning and what ones are growing stronger in the fashion field.

CHAPTER II

NATURE OF THE FASHION CYCLE

Common usage has made a place for the term "fashion cycle." By this term is meant the rise, culmination and decline of popular acceptance of a style. The popular use of the term unfortunately may be both confusing and misleading. Cycle literally means circle and as applied to fashion suggests starting with some style, moving away from it and finally coming back to the same style again. Nothing like this is meant by the term "fashion cycle" here. While styles do sometimes come back in popular favor, the fashion cycle does not mean a return by any sort of circle to former style. The fashion cycle is merely the rise, culmination and decline in popular acceptance of a style.

The Normal or Usual Fashion Cycle

All fashions are apparently alike in that their rise, spread, culmination and decline seem to follow rather orderly lines. One may graphically describe a fashion movement by a diagram such as shown in Plate 1 representing the origin, spread, and then decline of a spring fashion. The height of this curve represents at the various dates indicated at the bottom of the diagram the number of people who at each date are followers of the fashion. In the first part of the wave the number of people accepting the style grows rapidly. In the latter part there is a decline in number.

The fashion cycle is simply the forward wave-like movement completed and involves no necessary repetition of the style.

The graphic wave accurately represents the fashion. There could be no fashion unless several people adopted the style constituting the fashion. This general or more or less widespread imitation of a style is the essential feature of fashion. There could be no fashion without imitation. Of the multitudes of styles, past and present, only those which are followed

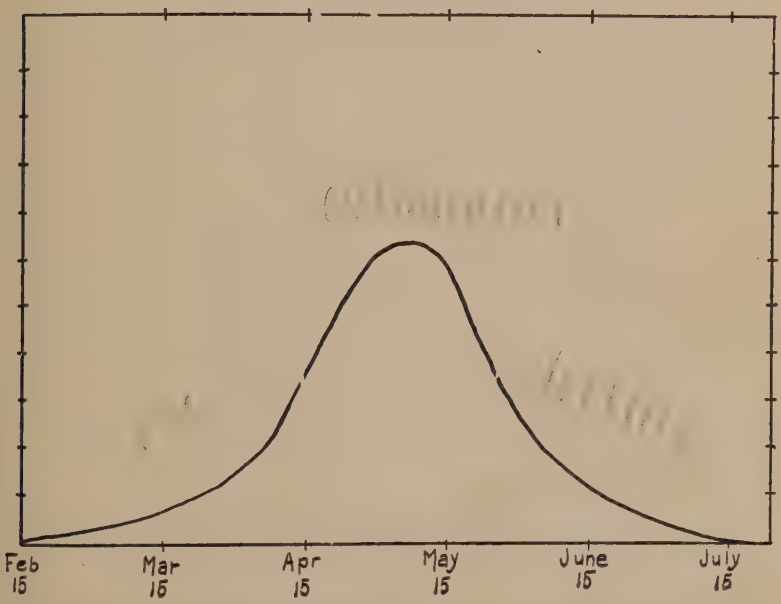


PLATE I. THEORETICAL REPRESENTATION OF NORMAL FASHION CYCLE

by groups of people are fashions. A style followed by an individual means nothing to fashion.

Since a fashion is a widespread adoption by imitation of a style, it is as such a fact of social life, and what is the fashion at any time can be determined by physical count and need not at all be a matter of opinion.

The methods by which fashions spread are the same as those that cause the spread of every new idea. The use of

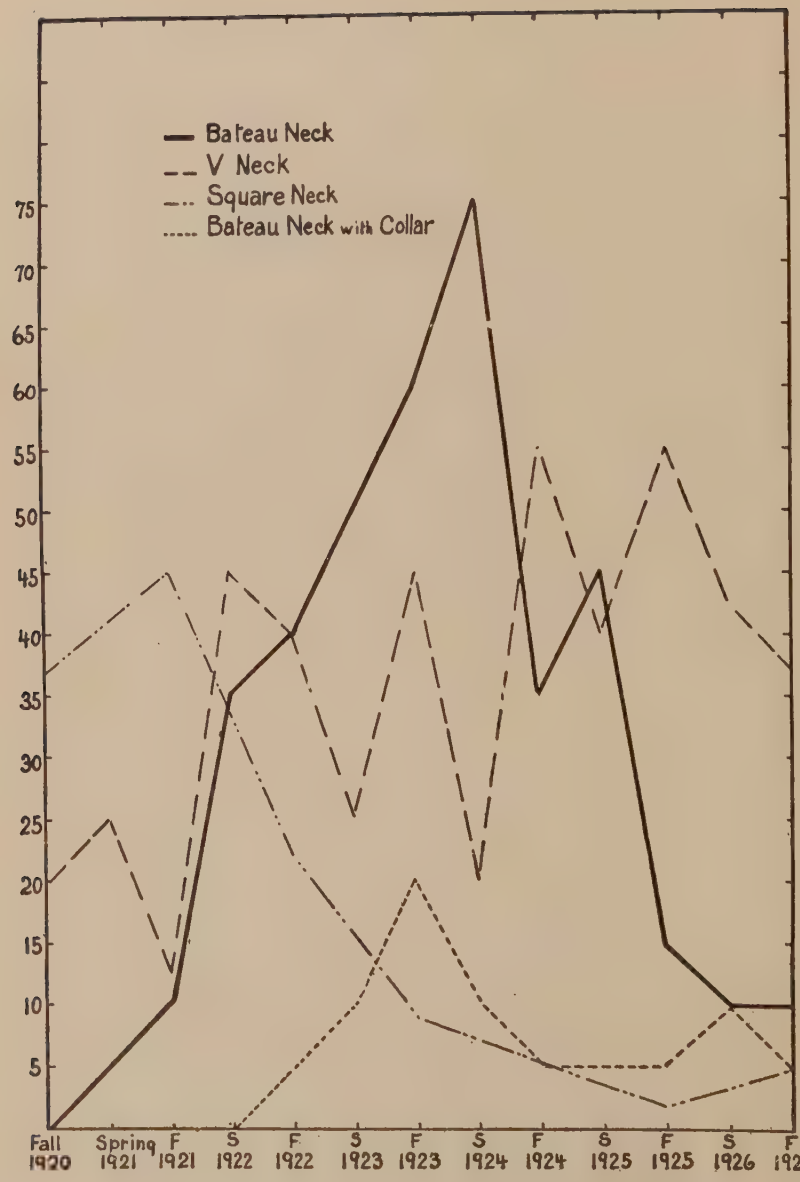


PLATE 2. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN NECKLINES

every invention and convenience of life, whether cash registers, fountain pens or automobiles, follows the same process, the same spread of ideas and of imitation as in the case of pure style goods. Merchandise of high practical utility such as cash registers, fountain pens and automobiles may be able to hold their own against decline longer than millinery. Fashions that depend entirely upon the taste of the public are likely to decline at about the same rate that they come into use. Plate 2 is an actual representation of a fashion cycle beginning in the fall of 1920 and completed in 1926.

The Fashion Cycle Extended Indefinitely

Some articles that begin as fashions are occasionally found so practical and of such high utility that they are not cast aside for new fashions at the normal end of their cycles. Thus shirt-waists which came into general use in the 90's held their own as a common article of dress for at least twenty-five years. Low shoes and wrist watches which were adopted as fashions during the period of the World War have continued since because of their high practical utility. Many other instances could be given of fashion cycles extended indefinitely because of high utility.

The Broken Fashion Cycle

Fashion cycles of the ordinary wave form are occasionally broken abruptly by catastrophe, as for example, when a community suffers some tragedy that causes general mourning, or the upset of ordinary social life by war, earthquakes or other disasters, or by abrupt change in weather, as at the end of a season. The best illustration of the broken cycle may be seen where new fashions are started in late summer and gain considerable headway before the beginning of cold weather

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and then are broken off abruptly by the oncoming of winter. Similarly, new fashions occurring the latter part of winter may be broken off abruptly by the oncoming of spring and warm weather. There has been insufficient study of broken cycles such as just described to be sure of a generalization, but in a tentative way it may be stated that, when conditions right themselves, when normal life may again be resumed, or when weather becomes suitable for the wearing of apparel coming into the fashion at the end of any season, there seems to be a tendency to take up these fashions at the point at which they were broken off, and the fashion cycle then continues its normal course to its peak or climax and decline just as if nothing had happened. Thus an increasing demand for printed goods in light summery dresses toward fall presages a continuation of the demand during the following spring, and an increasing demand for winter fabrics or furs late in the winter season just before spring breaks, may be taken as an indication that such fabrics or furs will be in strong demand again during the fall season.

Relation of Consumer Buying to Fashion Cycle

The accompanying diagram, Plate 3, shows the difference between the fashion cycle representing the actual use of any fashion article and the consumer buying cycle. It will be seen that the consumer buying curve rises directly with the increased use of the fashion commodity, but when the use of that commodity reaches its peak and the decline sets in, consumer buying declines very much more rapidly than consumer use.

To put it in another way, the fashion cycle, that is, the use of any article in fashion, continues long after buying is generally completed.

Note may be taken at this point of the fact that all con-

sumers do not continue as members of the fashion group during the entire period represented by a fashion cycle. In the example given, of those who began the use of a style on February 15, at least some of them may be through with it by the latter part of March or the early part of April. On the other hand, the places of those who drop out in the early

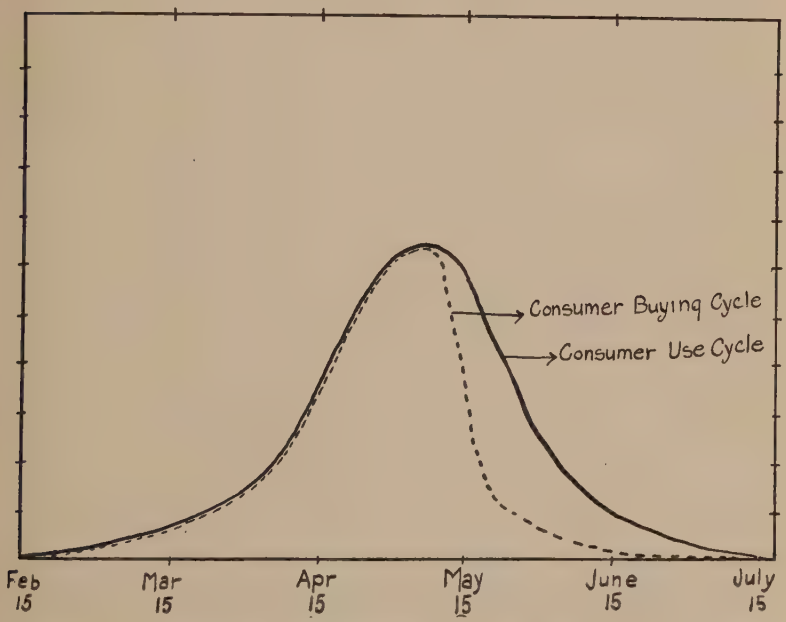


PLATE 3. THEORETICAL REPRESENTATION OF CONSUMER BUYING CYCLE

stages of the fashion cycle are taken by those who are just beginning. Those who adopt the fashion at this time are, of course, greater in number than those who drop out, so that, while some individauls are dropping out of the fashion group at all times of the fashion cycle even from its earliest stages up to the period of its climax, more people join the movement than the number who drop out. Even during the period

of fashion decline there may still be individuals who begin its use and make purchases up to its last stages. Thus every retail store has the experience of having customers call for fashion goods that have long since passed out of general demand.

The graph just referred to, Plate 3, showing the relation of consumer buying to consumer use is of practical significance both to manufacturers and retailers. Fashion goods may be freely bought by retailers and offered for sale to consumers as long as the fashion trend curve is upward, but as soon as the upward tendency ceases, then it is time for the retailer to stop ordering and the manufacturers to stop making to assure that there may not be left over any quantity of unused, unsold, and unwanted goods. In the declining period of a fashion cycle, there may still be a limited sale, and in fact, in some cases for a long time following, to the more conservative people of the community who either are late in adopting the fashion, or who are slow in giving it up.

Factors That Affect the Size and Rate of Fashion Movements

The fashion cycle is, as may be seen, a very complicated social phenomenon. There are some factors that promote a rapid change of fashion, while there are others that retard it. These factors compete for ascendancy, and the fashion cycle is a resultant of or a compromise between these two sets of forces. Some of these factors are individual and personal. More are social and common.

At this point some of the forces that affect the rate of fashion movement may be mentioned. Further attention will be given to this problem in the chapter on the "Psychology of Fashion."

A wide diffusion of wealth with increasing earnings and

increasing prosperity is one of the most important factors tending to a rapid speeding up of fashion movements. It takes financial means to satisfy the human demands for fashion. The less the income per family, the less the opportunity for indulging these demands. Increasing the family income beyond the requirements for the actual necessities of life acts somewhat the same as releasing a spring which has been forcibly held under control. The released spring, and by this is meant the human demand for fashion expression, asserts itself with great force and rapidity. Thus great eras of fashion interest are opened up in every period of rising general prosperity and increased family purchasing power.

Increasing leisure acts somewhat the same as increased earnings in developing interest in fashion. People who work long hours have little opportunity to think of fashions and less opportunity to make such thinking effective. A great many fashions require leisure for their expression, so any increase in leisure time is likely to be accompanied by an increasing interest in fashion. All movements tending toward the shortening of the work day or the number of work days per week, are steps in the direction of intensifying the importance of fashion in our social life.

Widespread education likewise accelerates fashion movements and increases interest in fashion. Education coupled with increased incomes almost invariably increases the number of human wants. To a certain extent education helps to increase earning power, so that a democratic system of education for all the children of all the people is one of the surest ways of creating and greatly extending markets for goods of all kinds and especially those goods in which fashion may play a part.

The democratic ideal of equality or at least of equality of opportunity taught in the schools, by the press, and from the pulpit and platform, assumes practical significance in fashion

fields in that each individual under this philosophy strives to prove his equality with others and cannot help but select for his field of effort those in which fashion predominates.

The current philosophy of life held by the people at any given time may accelerate or retard fashion. A philosophy emphasizing conservatism, custom and reverence for age naturally retards interest in fashion, while a philosophy of youth, progress and desirability of change and improvement such as has characterized western nations during the last three or four generations is a splendid mental soil in which the seeds of fashion grow very fast.

Certain physical and mechanical inventions and contrivances such as rapid and cheap means of communication and transportation go far toward helping fashion movements. Fashion ideas are now transported with extreme rapidity to the farthest corners of all civilized nations by means of fast mail, telegraph, telephone and even radio. Finished products of fashion are transported almost as fast as the ideas by rapid ocean service, express trains and aeroplanes.

Effective and cheap reproduction of style goods is also highly important as a means of rapid spread of fashion. As already seen, imitation is the most essential element in fashion. If there were not imitation there could be no fashion. Thus, while copying and so-called style piracy are admittedly an evil to the individual manufacturing concern whose successful designs are stolen and reproduced in cheaper and cheaper models, it is copying that makes mass fashion possible. High-priced merchandise could scarcely ever become a popular fashion, but reproduction of high-priced goods into lower-priced goods makes its possible for people of lower incomes to participate in the fashion cycle and thereby extends the wave to much larger proportions than it might otherwise achieve.

Commercial promotion, that is, advertising and selling, is also an exceedingly important factor in spreading fashion and

promoting interest in fashion. Important as it is, there has been a tendency to overrate and overemphasize its power as a factor in fashion development. The belief that sales promotion may be used in starting fashions independently of or in opposition to other trends, makes it seem wise to utter a word of caution in connection with its mention here as a great force.

Among the factors that retard or hold back fashion movements are, first, of course, habits of individuals and customs of groups. A new fashion almost invariably involves the breaking up of a habit or custom. It is unnecessary to go into any analysis or statement here as to the power of habit. This has been done exceedingly well in almost every textbook on psychology written during the last four or five decades. The important thing to note, however, is that, while habit acts as a check on fashion, habit breaks down under the force of major fashion movements. The relation of modesty and custom to fashion will be discussed in a later chapter.

Current ideas of art also influence fashion movements and either favor or retard them. When a new fashion seems to be in opposition to the views on art held by the people, art may check or modify the fashion. Art ideas themselves are subject to fashion trends so that what is thought beautiful at one time is considered ugly at another. Consequently, the opposition of art to fashion is more truly only an opposition of current fashions.

Similarly, our ideas of hygiene and utility may retard the progress of fashion whenever fashion seems to disregard fundamental principles in these respects. Therefore, education of the public in art, in hygiene or in utility may serve as a powerful force against the introduction of fashions which do not correspond or fit in well with the principles as laid down in this education. On the other hand, new fashions that do accord with the important principles in art, hygiene or utility as taught in these branches, may receive both encouragement

and acceleration, so that these factors may be considered as favorable to certain fashions and unfavorable only when in opposition.

Religion is generally a conservative and negative influence on new fashions. The leaders in all religions have almost continuously urged their followers to discard or disregard fashion as one of the things tending to evil, or at least to a waste of time and energy that might be more wisely devoted to spiritual exercise.

From time to time in the past many nations have attempted to prescribe by law what people should and should not wear and consume. Such laws are known as sumptuary laws. Local ordinances and prescriptions at sea coast points on bathing suits may be taken as modern illustrations of sumptuary legislation. Naturally, where sumptuary laws are in existence and are enforced, these tend to retard the influence toward new fashions.

The rate of spread of fashion movements is heightened by the introduction of goods serving the same fashion at lower prices. Fashion movements spread more rapidly also when the changes offered are slight rather than important. A new fashion has a much better chance of success, not only for adoption but also in rate of spread, when it is timely in its appearance. When older fashions have about run their course, when consumers are weary of them and are ready to try something new, these are the times when new fashions find ready and speedy adoption.

Fashion cycles spread much more rapidly on certain kinds of goods than on others, as for example, the movement in fashion on a color seems invariably more rapid than a fashion movement in line or silhouette. Similarly, fashion cycles in accessories such as handbags, scarfs, flowers, types of gloves and even millinery tend to move more rapidly than the fashion cycles in coats and dresses, or in the general silhouette.

Fashion Cycle Time Intervals

Quite naturally, many students of fashion have wondered if there might be any regularity of intervals of time or standard lengths of time in which fashion movements or cycles run their course. Very little scientific study has been made in this field and very little can be presented other than conjecture. It appears, however, that fashion cycles in dress accessories such as flowers, scarfs, costume jewelry, handbags, and so on tend to run but a season. Fashions in color, designs and materials, as a rule, require a year. Fashion cycles in silhouette, that is, in general outline of both men's and women's garments and in such merchandise as home furnishings seem to run for several years and fashion cycles in architecture run for decades before they exhaust themselves.

The length of time of fashion cycles must be greatly variable, but thorough study may reveal regularities of important practical significance. The analysis of this phase of fashion constitutes a fascinating problem for future study.

Danger of Being Either Behind or Ahead of Fashion

From the standpoint of business dealing with fashion problems there is not only the danger of being behind the fashion, but also that of being ahead of it. Many business men assume that fashion changes occur much more rapidly than any study of the facts indicates. There are some retailers and manufacturers as well, who in their avid desire to keep up to the minute in supplying their clientele with new fashion goods, do not permit their lines of merchandise the sales opportunities that they deserve. Such concerns are losing as much business by being ahead of fashion cycles as is lost by concerns that are behind the fashion wave.

New styles or designs in merchandise not already a part

of the fashion demand of the public are only experiments on what the demand will be, and the dealer who is constantly trying out new styles in the hope that he may be in at the beginning of new fashions, is virtually running an experiment station rather than a merchandising institution. The main volume of business both in manufacturing and retailing is now done, and probably has always been done, on established fashions, on fashions well on the way toward the top or peak of the fashion cycle. A large volume of business is practically impossible in a concern that devotes its energies to originating and helping to start new fashions.

Leadership in fashion, in the sense of being the first to show the styles that later become the fashions, so much sought after by many manufacturers and retailers, may be purchased only at a very high cost. It involves the expense of experimental work, for every style purchased that is not yet in fashion must of necessity be an experiment with consumer demand. Most of such experiments cannot help but turn out badly. The labor and expense of selling such goods are high, returns must be considerable, and mark-downs enormous. A little of this fashion experimental work may be useful in every institution producing or selling style goods. Here and there some high-grade style shop may indulge in such experiments on a much larger scale and find it worth while, but for most concerns the safest rule seems to be to carry what people want after their wants have been demonstrated.

How Fashion Trends May Be Determined

As pointed out in the first chapter of this book, fashion is a social fact and its existence, its extent, its number of followers may be definitely measured by the simple process of counting.

An actual count, made at a given time and place of all the

people wearing felt hats, will indicate the existence and extent of the fashion of felt hats in that place. If successive weekly or monthly counts are made and it is found that the number wearing felt hats is increasing from count to count, then there is the simple evidence of an upward trend of the fashion of felt hats. Similarly, one may trace upward or downward trends in every other article of fashion that can be counted.

Obviously, a manufacturer or merchant is interested, not only in what the current fashion is, but also in what the fashions are going to be some weeks hence. A single count if comprehensive enough and impartially made among prospective customers will indicate the existence of the current fashion, but for the purpose of prediction of future fashions a knowledge of trends of present fashions will be helpful. So a succession of counts, taken at equal time intervals and taking into consideration styles apparently becoming fashions, is most important. From a study of such facts, the manufacturer and merchant who can discover the new trends earliest, probably stands the best chance of success in his lines with his customers.

Who Starts the New Fashions?

Something more, however, is necessary to secure fashion predictions than the mere count of individuals taken at random. Obviously, some classes of people are more interested in new fashions than others, and therefore new fashions are likely to appear and become predominant in these groups earlier than elsewhere. So stylists and reporters on fashion carefully watch the style centers of the world to see what is being worn by people who make it their business to dress well. From such observations they attempt predictions on what are likely to be popular fashions a little later on.

The usual reports of what is worn by social notables do not seem to be as valuable now as they formerly were as a means of predicting fashions. The masses apparently do not imitate individual notables to the extent that they formerly did. Today fashion appears to be more of a social or popular movement in which the imitation is largely of types and ideals, rather than of persons. What the notables wear apparently means less and less to the masses of intelligent fashion-conscious women, unless these same lady notables are themselves appareled in the current fashions of the day.

It is not what Lady so-and-so wore at the Palm Beach party in February that counts as a fashion guide to the following summer's apparel in Detroit or Des Moines. Rather it is the proportion among the smart, rich, well-dressed women at that party wearing tan shades, uneven hem lines, classic ear-drops or what-not, that points to the probability that these style features will be the general trend in the following July. Lady so-and-so may have worn something very original, very smart, very chic, perhaps artistic, but that may be very far from what will ever be the fashion; but if 30% of those who attended the party wore orange-colored stockings and patent leather shoes, to give a striking example, that should make the business world interested in fashion sit up and take notice. In other words, it is believed that simple, physical counts made at successive intervals and analyzed coldly and dispassionately for trends is a much more scientific method of determining the direction of fashion than dreamy surveys of what Princess this, Duchess that, or Lady so-and-so wore.

It is, of course, important that counts made for the purpose of determining fashion trends should be made in the right places and among the right people. Obviously, some groups might represent very little current fashion, others might represent fashions in the later phases of decline. All business inter-

ests affected by fashion movements would like to learn of trends as early in their existence as possible. Hence it is important to study the progress of fashions among people with whom fashions originate and receive their earliest acceptance.

The right people in the sense just indicated are not made up of a fixed number of individuals, a sort of inner circle of "400," who are always the leaders in things of fashion. Whatever may have been the case in times past, fashion leadership seems to be no longer the result of birth or position. Nothing apparently has less to do with fashion leadership than inheritance. If this were not so the business world interested in fashion would quickly refer to the birth lists of the present generation, determine therefrom who the fashion leaders are and set their designing and production schedules in line with the selections of such individuals. On the contrary, as a rule, the sons and daughters of the people of fashion a generation ago are unknown to the world of fashion of today or at least are unimportant factors in it.

Similarly, royalty, nobility and family are no longer clues to fashion leadership. What a king or queen, a prince or princess, a duke or duchess formerly took up became the fashion. Today what the scions of ruling and noble families use or wear is a matter of scarcely more than passing notice to the world. Indeed, royal personages, even more than private individuals, must observe and follow current fashions in order to avoid ridicule and criticism. Queens and duchesses as well as merchants' wives and professors' daughters must now-a-days watch their step to avoid becoming unpleasantly conspicuous by being out of or behind the fashion.

To find the earliest indications of new fashions and fashion trends one must find groups of people who have wealth, at least enough to make it possible for them to buy freely beyond the

boundaries of absolute necessities, leisure in which to plan for and make use of fashion goods, freedom from dominating restraint of custom or habit, courage to try new things, intelligence, shrewd appreciation of the social significance of the events and affairs of the world, good taste with a real basis in artistic sense and, last but not least, a keen desire to compete with other people for preeminence in style and fashion. Just as scientific discovery and mechanical invention have largely passed from individual, hit-or-miss effort to organized laboratory procedure, so the development of new fashions has passed from individuals to highly fashion-conscious social groups.

Without a considerable income available for purchase of style goods it would be impossible for consumers to make the experiments with new styles from which the new fashions may spring. On the other hand, the loose use of much money probably never adds anything to fashion movements. To illustrate, a wealthy woman without style sense, intelligence or taste might wear several new and different hats every day without a single chance in a million trials of ever having the slightest influence on fashion trends. She would only make herself conspicuous for spending, and ridiculous if the hats she chooses are out of fashion.

In fact, the possession of much money and freedom from economic responsibility tend to reduce consumer fashion sense. A wealthy person can afford to be more careless in dress, indulge in more freakish things, and make more mistakes than those whose income must be carefully guarded and cautiously expended so as to make the most of it. There are many business and professional women as well as young wives and matrons living on very limited incomes who are much nearer the front ranks of fashion trends than their sisters who have more wealth and leisure and who may buy much more style goods, but who are not so keenly sensitive to the movements

of fashion and who are not under the feeling of necessity of being a part of the current modes.

So, paradoxical as it may seem, resorts, restaurants and other social meeting places made exclusive by high prices and charges, as a rule, mean nothing to fashion movements. The very wealthy who alone can patronize these places may wear bizarre, exotic, queer, strange apparel today and throw it away tomorrow. What they wear from day to day may be style of a sort, but it is not fashion. The custom of such wealthy people may be very lucrative for a few specialty shops, but doesn't mean a thing from the standpoint of large-scale production and marketing in the fashion field. The business student must look for beginnings of fashion trends in localities, meeting places and groups in which there is distinct fashion sense.

Wherever a group of people with wealth, leisure, courage, intelligence and good taste as indicated in the foregoing paragraphs may be found, there is a style center from which new fashions radiate. Quite naturally there are many such people in the great, active cities of the world—Paris, London, New York, Buenos Aires, and so on. All participate in and likewise make their contributions to the fashion trends. Thus, for example, London groups may suggest the fabrics and the silhouette, New York the length of the skirt, Buenos Aires the color combinations, and Paris, the fashion exchange of the world, the finishing touches of chic thus determining the fashion in sports clothes for women for the coming season.

Not all of such fashion-wise groups of people are confined to New York, Paris and the other large cities. Fashion is, as has been stated, a social fact. No city or group has a monopoly on fashion origination. Easy, rapid means of communication and ample opportunities for study and observation of fashion trends make it possible for groups in smaller com-

munities to play their part in the development of fashion trends almost as quickly as groups in the so-called fashion centers of the world.

The Two Phases of Fashion Movements

There are really two types of movements in connection with the spread of every fashion: first, the sweep of the fashion idea from community to community, and second, the spread of the fashion within each community. Formerly, fashions moved rather slowly from community to community. It used to be remarked that a Paris fashion generally reached New York the next season, and that New York fashions reached inland towns in from six to eighteen months later on.

However true this may have been in the past, it is no longer so. The movement of a fashion across the country, from community to community, is now very rapid. What formerly took months now takes an equal number of weeks or even days. To illustrate, a fashion started among smart dressers in New York will reach and be adopted by the fashion leaders of Cleveland, St. Louis, Denver and Los Angeles, and even smaller places such as Dayton, Peoria and Spokane within very few weeks.

The second type of fashion movement, the spread of a fashion within a community from those who first take it up to the more conservative, while more rapid at present than it was a score of years ago, is still comparatively slow.

The progress of the beginnings of a fashion from community to community may be compared to turning on an electric switch setting off a spark in each of a multitude of communities. The resulting bonfires, kindled by the sparks that may be compared to the spread of the fashion within the communities, take more time to develop.

The promptness with which the fashion leaders of even

small communities take up new fashions is likewise characteristic of their disapproval and rejection of the spurious or unsuccessful fashion or of the fashion that has run its course.

Fashion Prediction

In conclusion, the prediction of fashion resolves itself into the discovery and determination of trends as early in their formation as possible, a careful estimate of the possibilities of such beginning trends and their surrounding conditions. Those who have long followed the up-and-down movements of fashion tend to develop a feeling or sense for what may happen next with considerable accuracy. It is possible that the set of conditions accompanying fashions determines within fairly narrow limits what the next fashions are to be. As one looks back, with the gift of hindsight, as it were, and considers the spread of the use of the automobile among women as well as men, the rapid extension of economic opportunities for women during the period of the World War, the growing interest in sports and outdoor life, the imitation by women of men's activities, there seems to have been an inevitability about the fashions for bobbed hair, cigarette smoking, uncorseted figures, and short skirts. It seems now as if any competent student of the social life ten or even fifteen years ago should have been able to foresee these fashions. There are individuals who will claim that they did forecast all of these fashions and more, but so far as the general fashion industries are concerned, they seem to have been without any prevision whatsoever of coming fashion events. In fashion as in all other human activities, hindsight is much easier than foresight.

Attempts to predict the new fashions before they have started is as hazardous as betting on the races. Even the most expert make a high percentage of errors. But such advance speculation is unnecessary for most businesses. Prompt pro-

duction and sale of goods after the trends have been established will take care of the fashion requirements of the great masses of the people. It seems essential that all businesses in the fashion field aiming at mass production and mass selling should recognize this and equip themselves in plant and organization to fit this condition.

Kroeber's Graphic Studies of Fashion Trends

The first effort to illustrate the trends of fashions by graphic methods, so far as is known, was made by A. L. Kroeber, Professor of Anthropology in the University of California, in an article "On the Principle of Order in Civilization as Exemplified by Changes of Fashion" that appeared in the *American Anthropologist* in the July-September, 1919, issue.

Professor Kroeber's studies were based on fashion illustrations in magazines extending from 1844 down to 1919. From 1844 to 1868 he utilized illustrations from the *Petit Courrier des Dames*. From 1868 to 1919 he used American fashion magazines. The type of garment used by Professor Kroeber in these measurements was women's evening dress, since it lent itself most easily to the purpose. Comparable data for the various years could be obtained from them, which would be ascertained with great difficulty in the case of other types of dress. Besides, as Professor Kroeber observes:

"This has served the same definite occasion for more than a century; does not therefore vary in purpose as does the day dress, nor seasonally like street clothing. The material always remains silk, and there have been no totally new fundamental concepts introduced. . . . The variations, therefore, are purely stylistic. And while the range promised to be perhaps somewhat narrower than those of certain other types of women's wear, this was of little moment. If any principle could be

determined, it would apply a fortiori to the more changeable kinds of clothing."

Having selected the evening dress, the next part of the preliminary work was to define exactly the measurements he proposed to make, for, obviously, since all lines of a dress are subject to variation, it might happen that comparable data on some particular feature would not be obtainable; and actually it does happen. The following definitions, however, to a very large degree eliminated this difficulty, and yielded four measurements of width and four of length:

1. Total length of figure from center of mouth to tip of toe. The mouth was chosen as a point of reference, so as to avoid the troubles arising from changes in the headdress.

2. Distance from mouth to the bottom of the skirt. By subtracting this figure from the previous one, the height of the gown above the ground is obtained.

3. Distance from mouth to the minimum diameter across the waist. This gives an indication of the length of the "waist" or corsage—the upper part of the figure. While the true waist-line is more significant than this measurement stylistically, there are periods when it vanishes (as in the present straightline vogue), so that no calculation could be made.

4. Depth or length of décolletage, measured from the mouth to the middle of the corsage edge in front.

5. Diameter of the skirt at the hem or base.

6. Maximum diameter of skirt.

7. Minimum diameter in region of waist.

8. Width of shoulders, or more accurately, width of décolletage across the shoulders. In the earlier years of the period studied here, the bertha was in vogue, extending a bit over the shoulders, the measurement being made at its extremities. In the case of the modern dress with shoulder straps, the measurement is made between the straps.

For each year he chose ten figures, taking the first ten drawings (or photographs in recent years), which permitted

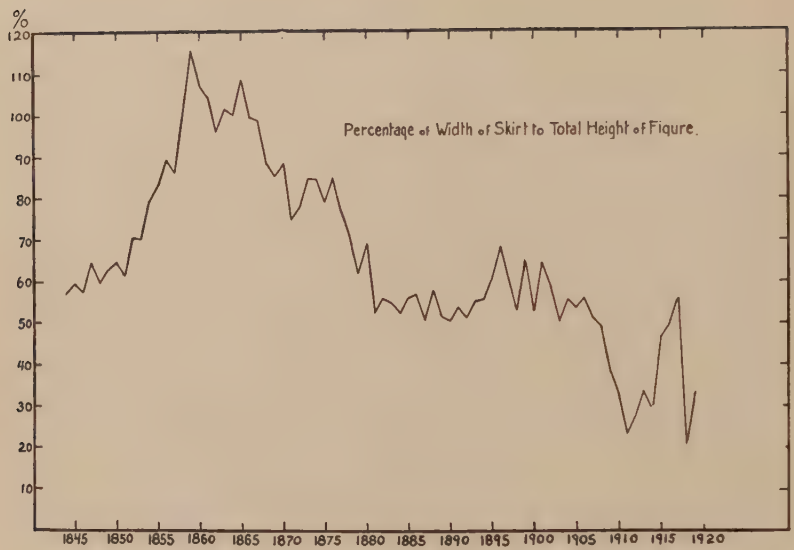


PLATE 4. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS

From A. L. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1919, page 247.

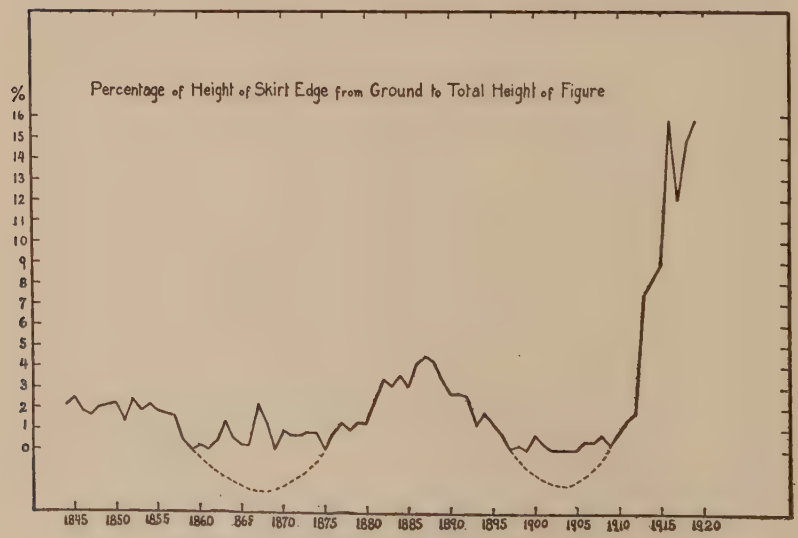


PLATE 5. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS

From A. L. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1919, page 252.

the established measurements to be made. This procedure was intended to eliminate the personal equation, the random choice making up, in part, at least, for the rather small number of figures taken as a basis for deducing an average measurement of the eight features investigated.

Since the illustrations were not so full and complete in the earlier years in the fashion journals available, the data sought for were not obtained in their entirety. They were most complete for figure length, skirt length and skirt width.

All the measurements were made in millimeters, but these absolute numbers were all converted to percentage ratios, in terms of the length of figure (measurement 1 above), before being compared with each other. On the graphic curves also, these percentage ratios were plotted. In this way one gets a clearer idea of the proportions of the dress for any given year, as well as the change in the dress from one year to another.

The accompanying plates, Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7, from Professor Kroeber's article give a very excellent representation of the changes in fashion during the periods studied.

Plate 4 shows the percentage of width of the skirt to the total height of the figure. Beginning with 1844 it shows the rapid progress of the fashion of widening skirts up to 1859 when the widths of the skirts more than equaled the entire height of the figure for a period of six or seven years, the days of the crinoline. Then there followed a general decline in widths of skirts varied by many sharp exceptions down to 1909-11, the period of the hobble skirt. Then followed a rapid increase in skirt width up to 1917 and then a sharp drop in 1918.

Plate 5 presents the history of fashion trends in height of skirts from the ground for the same period. The period studied began with a skirt that barely escaped touching the ground, but during the 60's and 70's there were seasons during which skirts swept the ground. From 1875 to 1887 skirts grew

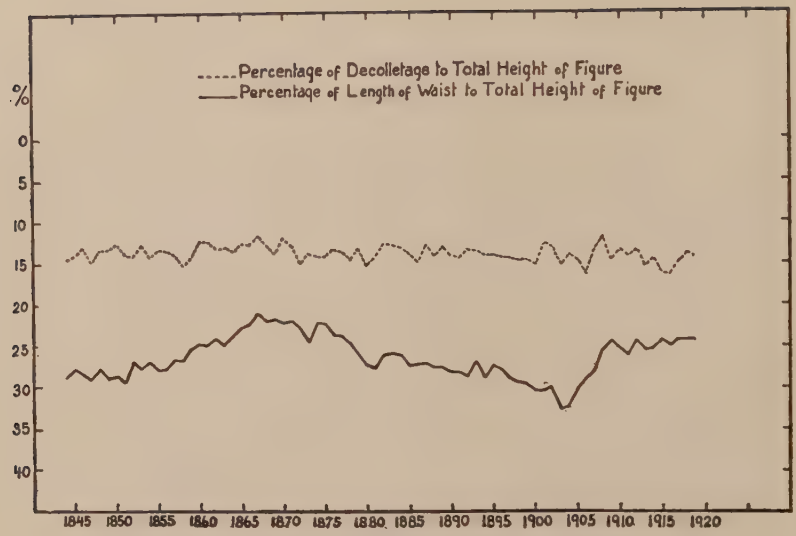


PLATE 6. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS

From A. L. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1919, page 252.

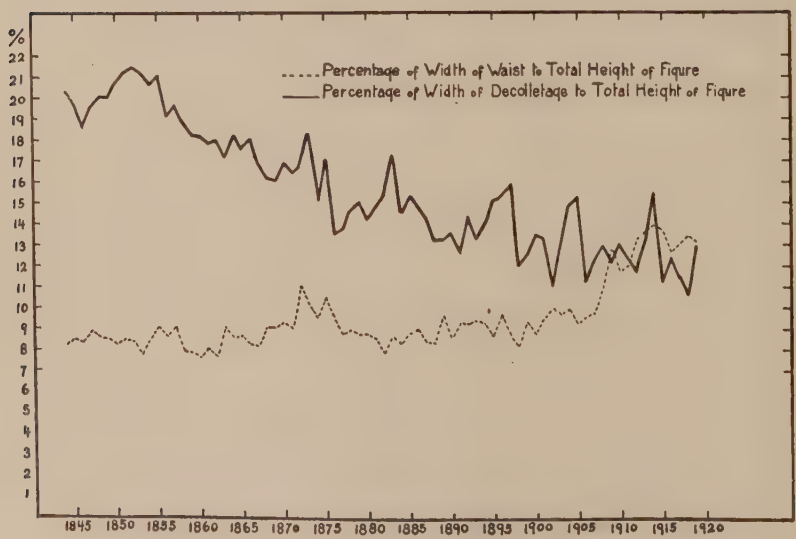


PLATE 7. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS

From A. L. Kroeber, *American Anthropologist*, July-Sept., 1919, page 255.

gradually shorter, not short in the sense of 1926-27, but actually off the ground and even revealing the feet of the wearers. There followed another period of depression including sweeping trains during the latter 90's and down to 1910, followed by a most rapid rise which did not culminate until 1927.

Plate 6 shows the trends in décolletage and length of waist during the period studied by Professor Kroeber. There was but little variation and most of that probably meaningless from the standpoint of trend in depth of décolletage, but there is obviously a fairly definite cycle in the trend of length of waists, a cycle of approximately fifty years from the period of longest waists in 1851 down to 1903.

Plate 7 shows the trend in the relation of the width of the waist and of the width of décolletage to the height of the figure. The periods from 1844 to 1867 were clearly periods of very tight lacing. There followed a period of seven or eight years in which the waist was not compressed so tightly and then a period running through the 80's and 90's in which tight corsets were the general rule. The rapid rise in width of waists beginning in 1905 marked the beginning of the tendency toward the elimination of corsets which came nearly taking place in the latter part of the World War period.

Illustrations of Current Fashion Trends

There are presented herewith a number of charts showing fashion trends at the time of this writing. These have been prepared by students in the author's classes using Professor Kroeber's methods and by making actual counts of style items actually worn in fashionable places in New York. These charts are presented here for the purpose of illustrating the existence of trends and of showing the possibility of utilizing these methods in a practical way to help determine business policies and practice.

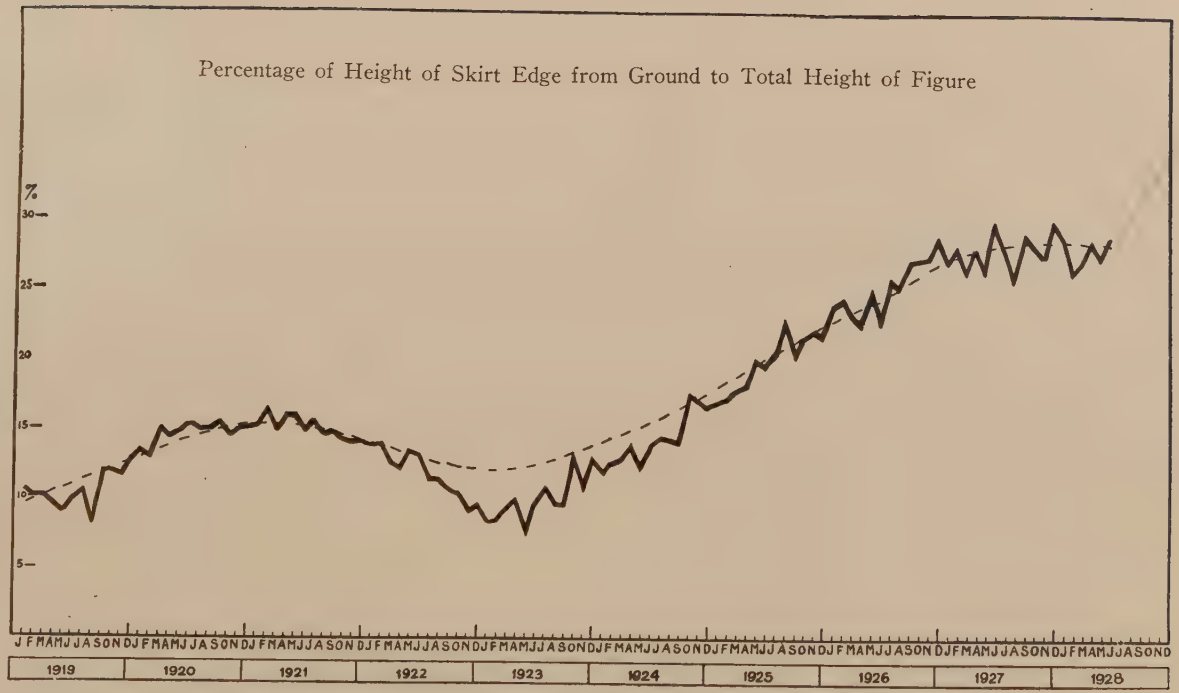


PLATE 8. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN LENGTH OF WOMEN'S SKIRTS
From measurements of illustrations in the *Delineator*.

Plate 8, showing the trend in length of skirts from 1919 down to 1928, illustrates the gradual nature of fashion trend and the futility of expecting very abrupt changes in fashion in such things as skirt length, silhouette and other fundamental style factors. The decline in 1922 and early 1923 represents what was expected by couturiers, stylists and artists, but which did not meet with the approval of the public. Women wore the longer skirts during 1922 and 1923 under protest. If the fashion trend could have been presented as it would have been following its natural course, unaffected by the expectations of the entire trade, it might have moved gradually upward from 1921 to 1927 without a decline intervening. In any case the decline represents fashion artists' views of what the fashion was to be rather than fashion as it was actually carried out by the women of the country. Similarly, the irregularities of the graph, the saw-tooth indentations, are also probably due to errors of prediction and illustration in the fashion magazines rather than representative of actual changes in fashion trend. It is believed that the real fashion trend in skirt lengths during the period presented might be most truthfully represented by a smoothed curve indicated on Plate 8 by the dotted line.

Plate 9 presents the facts concerning the trends in fashion in women's coats and capes during the period from 1919 to the end of 1926. The decline of the dress coat and the rise of the sports coat are notably marked. The rise of the flared silhouette from 1924 to 1926 is worth noting, as is the dominance of the plain sleeve. The passing out of the cape from 1921 down to 1926 is also a clearly marked trend.

Plate 10 shows the trends that existed in fashions in women's shoes during the spring of 1928. These trends were determined by making eight successive weekly counts of not less than 100 women per count at lunch time at Schrafft's, 42nd Street near Broadway, New York. This restaurant is patronized largely by smart, young business and professional women

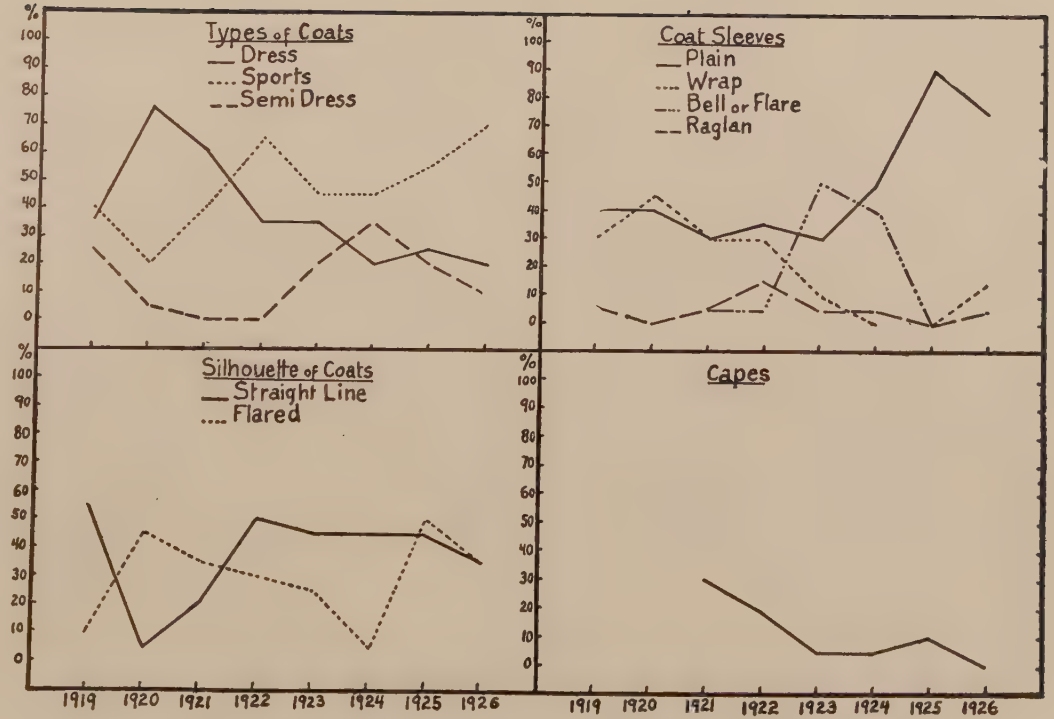


PLATE 9. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN WOMEN'S COATS AND CAPES

Prepared from the *Delineator* by A. J. Spear.

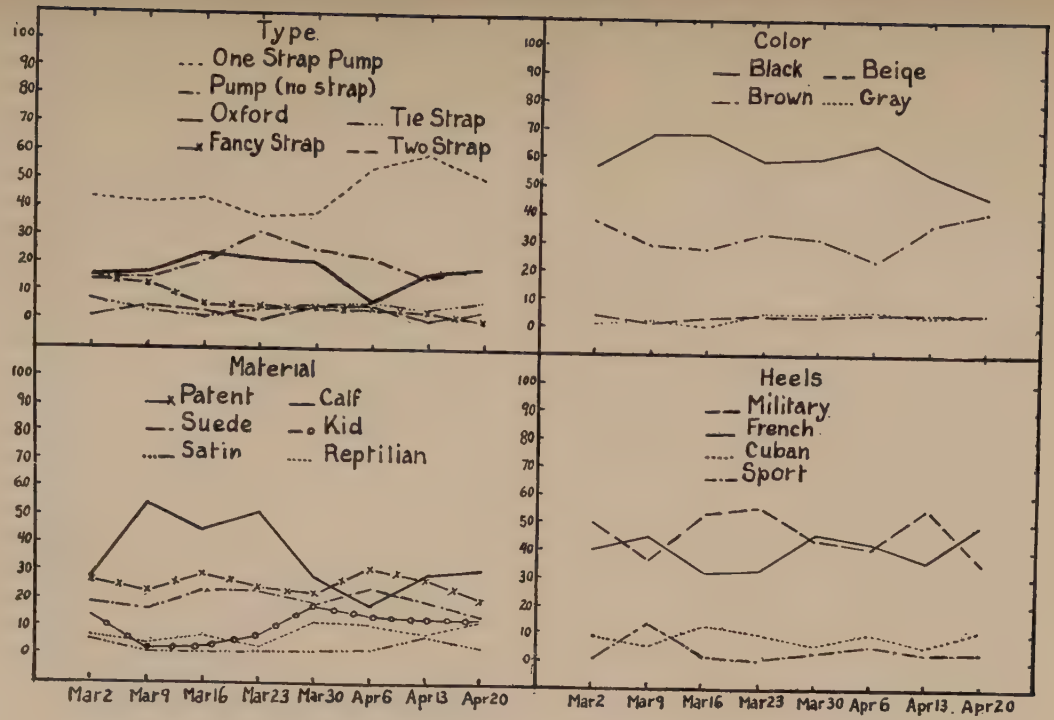


PLATE 10. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN WOMEN'S SHOES—SPRING, 1928

Counts by V. D. Reed.

as well as shoppers. It is believed that these women represent typical New York fashions as well as any group that might be selected. Those who come there are, for the most part, well-educated, wide-awake, highly sophisticated young women who possess sufficient incomes to insure the possibility of being in fashion, but who are well able to judge of the values of the apparel they buy not only from the standpoint of fashion but of utility as well. Many of them are probably in part or entirely dependent upon themselves for their incomes. They realize the relation and effect of proper dress upon their business and social successes. They are, quite generally, women of better than average good taste. What they wear must be in good fashion and good taste.

The noteworthy points in these graphs are the lack of any very dominant changes in trends excepting the gradual rise in the use of one-strap pumps, the decline of plain black leathers, the rise of reptilian leathers, and the decline of black colors during the periods studied. It is also worth noting that reptilian leathers, so much advertised by New York shoe stores for more than a year, while rising, occupy a very insignificant place in the fashion trends of the spring of 1928. By April 20, shoes made of these leathers reached their highest point, namely, about 12% of all the persons counted. On the other hand, patent leather, scarcely advertised by or displayed in any store in New York, was being worn by an average of 25% of the persons counted, while calf and kid leathers, generally in black, were worn by at least 40%.

Plate 11 shows the trends of fashions in widths of women's hats, width of skirt at the bottom, and length of skirt measured from the ground, all in percentages of the total height of the figures from 1919 to the early part of 1926. The information was gained from a study of illustrations in the *Delineator,* a monthly fashion magazine. Each dot repre-

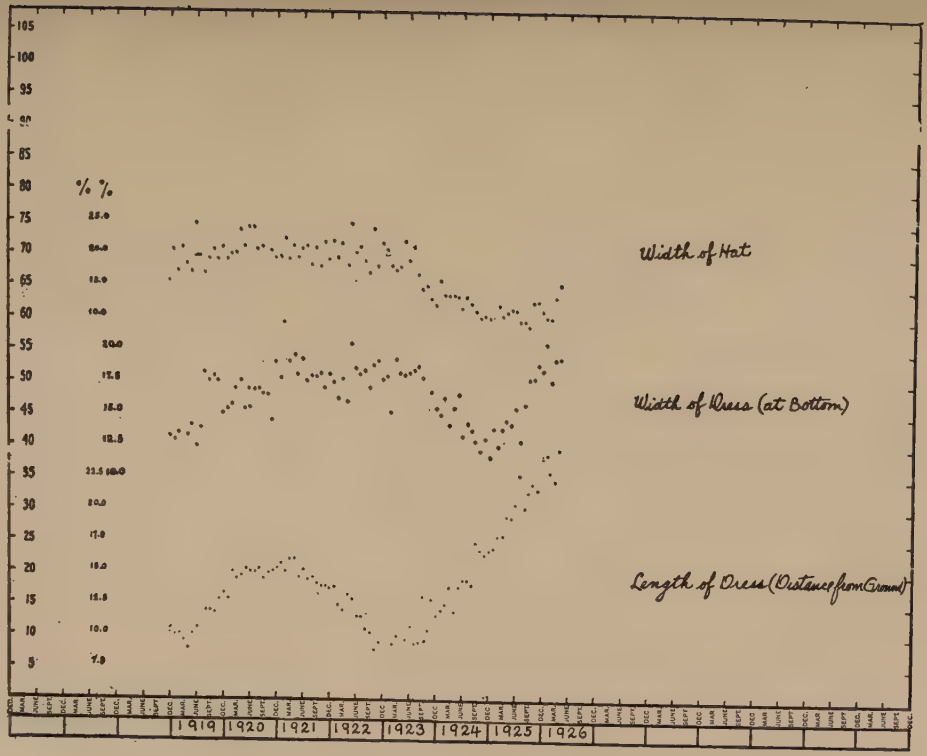


PLATE II. TRENDS IN WOMEN'S FASHIONS, JAN., 1919–MAY, 1926

Each dot represents a monthly average of 5 models.
From illustrations in the *Delineator*.

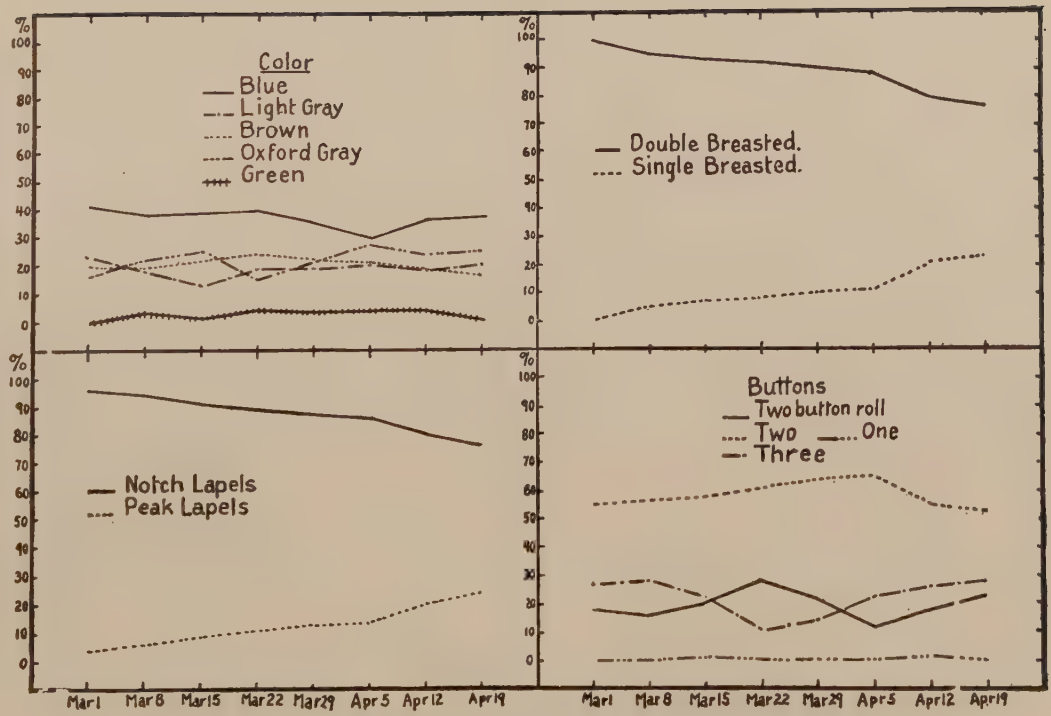


PLATE 12. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN MEN'S CLOTHING—SPRING, 1928

Counts made in Wall St. district by F. Gale.

sents the simple average of five illustrations taken from each monthly issue. This method of representation shows the individual variations from month to month, probably the errors of fashion estimation of the magazine artists, but shows the general trends very clearly. For example, the trend in millinery during 1919 was slightly toward wider hats. During

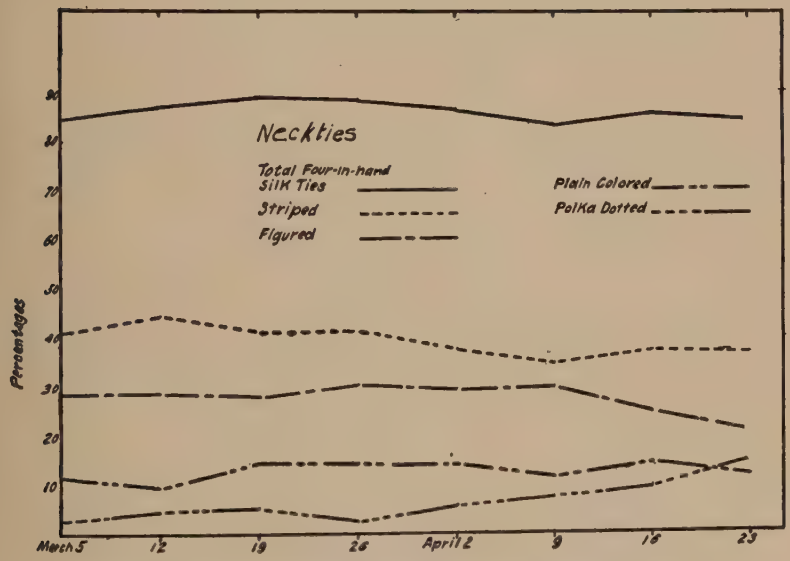


PLATE 13. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN MEN'S CLOTHING—SPRING, 1926

Counts made in Wall St. district by R. Wiley.

1920 to 1923 there was apparently no up-or-down movement excepting the zigzag guesses of the fashion artists who were evidently floundering in an effort to be right in case of a change in trend that was expected. In 1923 the width of hats began a downward trend that continued down to 1926, the period of the rule of the cloche type of hat. Attempts made during 1926 and 1927 to introduce large hats against the trend

were met by flat failure. The last two dots in the graph, namely, for March and April, 1926, showing increases in width, represent the influence of wide hat propaganda rather than any real change in consumer demand. The small narrow hat continued to rule down to 1928 in resistance to all efforts to increase its size by advertising, sales promotion and propaganda.

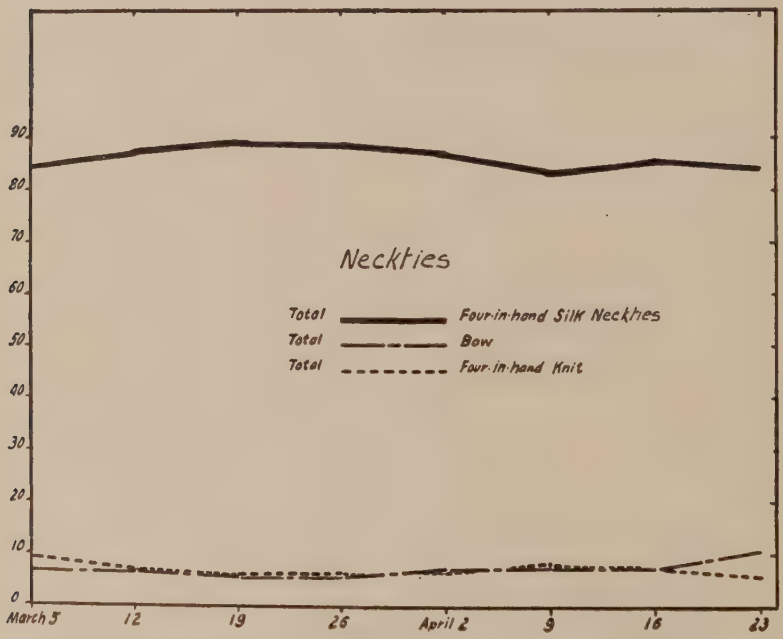


PLATE 14. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN MEN'S CLOTHING—SPRING, 1926

Counts made in Wall St. district by R. Wiley.

Plates 12, 13, 14 and 15 show trends in men's fashions determined by actual successive counts by students in the School of Business, Columbia University. Plate 12 represents a study made in the spring of 1928. Plates 13, 14 and 15 represent a study made in the spring of 1926. Both point to specific trends in consumer demand which, if known at the

time by retail clothiers and furnishers, should prove very helpful in making buying and selling plans.

In conclusion, the determination of fashion and its trends by statistical methods appears to be the first and most essential step toward a sincere, practical study of its problems. Granted the existence of fashion then, there must be more or less of

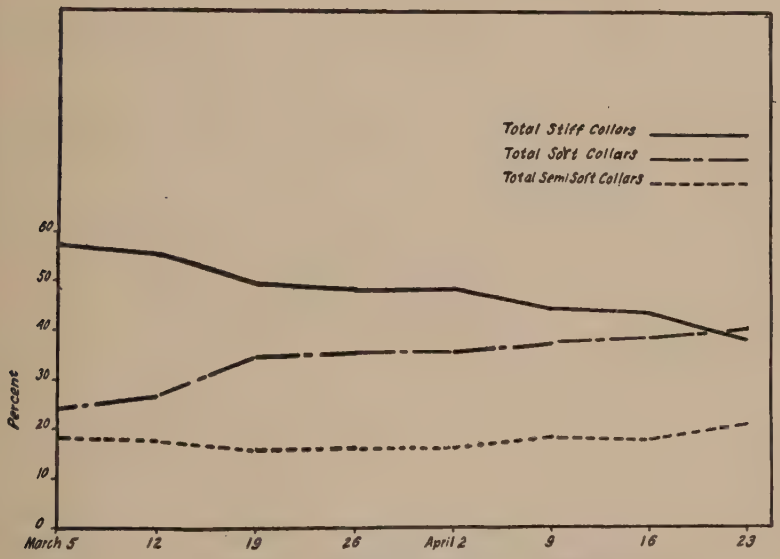


PLATE 15. ILLUSTRATION OF FASHION TRENDS IN MEN'S CLOTHING—SPRING, 1926

Counts made in Wall St. district by R. Wiley.

it, and possible trends toward increases or declines. It should be possible to apply some measurement which will answer how much a fashion amounts to and whether over a period of time that fashion is growing or diminishing. Counting is the simplest method so far suggested. There remains to be worked out with proper proof the problem as to what people should be counted, how many, when and how often. The suggestions offered in this chapter are merely tentative offers intended to

stimulate further study. A great deal of progress will undoubtedly be made during the next decade in the knowledge about fashion and how to work with it.

The statistical method has already been applied with practical results in several business concerns. Amos Parrish, well-known retail sales and advertising counselor, was probably the first to use it in his periodical fashion service supplied to retail dealers known as *"The Breath of the Avenue."* In several issues Parrish gave to his clients statistical summaries showing the extent of use of style goods in New York.

The Fairchild Publications, in *Women's Wear* and *Men's Wear,* have also frequently reported the status of fashions by means of percentages and graphs to show the extent to which each style item reported was in use. Occasional fashion reports from Paris during the last two or three years have also stressed the number of people wearing any given style. These have been excellent beginnings.

CHAPTER III

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FASHION

A fashion at any period of time is the style that has been accepted and adopted by a number of people. Fashion is a function of a group of people. It is a fact of numbers.

The central point in fashion is its appeal to and acceptance by the minds of many people. Since fashion acceptance is dependent upon the receptivity of the human mind, so in looking for help to explain the nature and movements of fashion we must turn to *psychology,* the study of the mind.

Individuals differ greatly both in their thoughts and in their methods of thinking. These differences are facts of *individual psychology.* But fashion is the result of common mental activity, of like thinking by many people. It is conditioned by and the result of tendencies in human nature to be alike not different, to act in common not independently, to have the same or similar tastes, instincts or desires, and to respond in about the same way to the same impulses.

It will be generally agreed that there are many common impulses, hungers, instincts and tendencies found in all human beings, which result in similar tastes, feelings, thoughts and reactions. These are facts of social psychology. Fashion is a phenomenon of social psychology, of like-mindedness, of common thinking and acting, of common imitation. So we turn to social psychology for an explanation of the causes and nature of fashion.

The most elementary as well as the most fundamental fact of psychology is that every living thing spends most of its time in struggles or efforts. We may not know what life is or what it is for, but the manifestations of life, the more or

less continuous struggles, are perfectly obvious both in ourselves and in others as well as in all living organisms.

Back of the struggles lie desires, tendencies or hungers. Ahead of them lie feelings of satisfaction. The entire activities of life, so far as one can observe, are made up of these desires or hungers, struggles and satisfactions or disappointments, according to the degree of success of the struggles.

These three fundamental phases of all human activity make it possible to approach the study of human nature from three different standpoints: (a) human achievements, satisfactions and conquests; (b) nature of the struggles, the efforts expended, the processes of thinking and acting used in the struggle; (c) fundamental causes, desires, hungers or instincts that force the individual into the struggles.

Human history is, in a sense, the record of human achievements and satisfactions. The old-time books on psychology tried to analyze the mental side of the struggles, the processes and the mechanics of thinking—such as sensation, perception, thinking, reasoning and willing.

The so-called new psychology emphasizes feelings, emotions, tendencies, instincts and hungers. The new psychology recognizes that the hungers and tendencies are more fundamental even than thought processes, and that the mechanisms of thinking such as sensation, perception, imagination and reasoning are really only specialized aids to the living organism in procuring more easily and more efficiently that which will satisfy its hungers. Eyes, ears, arms and legs help the organism in its struggle for existence. Such, too, is the function of imagination and reason.

In our efforts to explain fashion, it is not sufficient merely to consider the processes of thought connected therewith. We must try to find the fundamental hungers of the human being that cause the struggles to be in fashion.

The use of the word "instinct" to designate human hungers

or tendencies is purposely avoided in what follows for the reason that the term instinct is one around which there has grown up a very great deal of discussion and dispute. The technical definition of instinct is that it is an inherited action pattern, or tendency to act in a certain way. The hungers or tendencies that we shall discuss are so much the results of environment, education and habit that it is not possible to think of them purely as inherited action patterns. To avoid dispute as to what is inherited and what is acquired in these common hungers and tendencies, it is deemed best to avoid the use of the word "instinct" entirely. The fact is that all people, or at least all normal people, do have many common tendencies to act in certain ways, whether these tendencies are the results of inheritance or of environment and education.

Fundamental Human Motives

What follows is a partial list of such hungers or tendencies presented for the purpose of showing the psychological background in the normal human being in which we must search for the roots of fashion.

The most fundamental human hunger is the *desire for existence*—the will to live—which ranges from the blind struggles naturally made to escape catastrophe and death, to the avoidance of danger, of pain, and of hardship. One of the fundamental reasons for shelter and clothing is to protect the human body from the elements, from cold, storm, heat, sunlight, and so on. Obviously, shelter and clothing are made to serve much more than this purpose, but this purpose must underlie and modify all other purposes. The desire to live free from danger and discomfort is one of the most fundamental forces in human nature.

Closely associated with the desire to live, and entirely neces-

sary to existence, come the hungers for food and drink, which do not need description or demonstration here.

Love of the opposite sex also follows closely upon self-preservation, as a primal requirement of human existence. In fact, under conditions of peaceful existence, with the ordinary wants for food and drink, and shelter from the elements more or less adequately cared for, sexual hunger emerges as one of the most powerful and compelling forces in human nature. Sex hunger usually manifests itself in interest in the opposite sex in efforts to court and caress, and in love emotions or tender feelings. Sex hunger finds sublimation and indirect expression in singing and dancing. It is believed that sex hunger is the basis of the creative urge of all fine arts. Sex hunger is exceedingly important in normal adult life, and in any thorough study of motives and causes of fashion needs careful consideration as a possible contributing factor.

The desire for and *love of children* is another human hunger that appears in parenthood. It undoubtedly varies greatly in its power and quality from one individual to another, but is a dominant force or motive for the care and protection of children, procuring the things that children need, and in all interests concerning children. The love of children may be transferred in some cases to dogs, cats or other pets, and thereby creates wants for those things which minister to the comforts of pets.

Companionship is a need or hunger of most human beings. Strangely queer is the individual who does not desire to escape from loneliness and who does not manifest uneasiness of mind when away from other people for any length of time. This human tendency is sometimes called gregariousness. It is the hunger to be where other people are; it expresses itself in the pleasures of being with other people, in communicativeness, in the feeling of belonging to a group, whether that group

be a family, a club, a community, a country or any other social organization.

Simple hunger for companionship is merely a desire to be with other people, but the desire to enter into communion of minds with sympathy and understanding constitutes a higher form of companionship for which most people also hunger, which we call *friendship*. Thus most people desire not only the association of other human beings, but also crave more or less intimate and sympathetic interrelations such as found in friendship. One of the most characteristic results of the desire for companionship, that is, to be with other people, is a tendency to be like the people we want to be with, in appearance, in ways of thinking, in methods of expression, in manners, in dress and in fashions. The desire for companionship leads to conformity, and the group once formed of people with common basic interests and similarities in turn demands conformities not only from its present members, but also from those who would join the group. Thus imitation of the group is necessary to membership in the group.

There is another tendency that is closely associated with the hunger for companionship and which in turn is closely related to the desire to imitate, and that is the acceptance of authority of the group of which one desires to be a member, of another individual whom one may think of as a leader or as an ideal which may serve as a guide to those with whom we would like to be companions. This tendency is known as *self-abasement* or subjection. It involves the acceptance of another's leadership, docility, servility, the seeking of advice, the desire to consult, the feeling of respect and in exaggerated cases the feeling of hero worship.

Most people conform to the groups in which they belong. Groups are tyrannical. To conform is the easiest way of getting along; to be different in thinking, in manners, in dress or other forms of expression is to invite the belief in others

that one is queer. This desire to imitate is therefore a form of self-preservation. There is something within us that tells us that to be like people of the group or society to which we belong helps to secure sympathy.

There is another tendency or hunger in many if not in most human beings which is just the opposite of subjection to the group, which finds its expression in the *desire for recognition,* if necessary, by doing things differently, by thinking differently, by talking differently or by dressing differently. This desire for recognition may merely involve an effort to secure response from the people with whom we are associated, from mere recognition in the form of salutation or moderate interest up to extended interest or attention and approval. This desire for recognition varies in grade from the hunger merely for a response to a hunger for influence, for prestige, for freedom from control of others, even up to a keen hunger for power over others. This tendency or hunger is known by the psychologist as *self-assertion.* It finds expression in what is commonly called pride, self-esteem, vanity, envy, greed, ambition, emulation, rivalry and desire for conquest.

The hunger for self-assertion is widespread. Its symptoms can be seen on every hand in such forms as tendencies to dominate over other people, to condemn other people's actions with the secret objective of thereby raising one's own capacities to a more favorable position in relation to those of others condemned. The tendency to criticize, regulate and make laws for others is more often than not the outgrowth of strong hungers for self-assertion.

Likewise, tendencies to exhibit, to show off, to display one's self or one's own intelligence, one's products, and appearance, and so on, the desire to advertise one's self, to manage, to assume leadership, are indications of a strong underlying hunger for self-assertion.

Another fundamental human tendency is *curiosity.* Most

people are inquisitive and naturally interested in many things. Probably this tendency is more marked in youth than in adulthood and old-age. It is quite certain that this tendency is stronger in some people than it is in others. It finds its expression in specific desires to experiment, to explore, to discover, to invent, to investigate, to inquire; applied in objectionable directions people call it "snoopiness." When applied to the solution of difficult problems of science or art, we dignify curiosity by calling it the spirit of scientific research.

There are varying degrees of curiosity as there are of the other fundamental human hungers. In its simplest form it appears to be merely a desire for new sensations and for change. This desire for new sensations may be due to boredom—in other words, to physical fatigue, so that, in a sense, curiosity may be a physiological function, but it goes further than merely the desire for new sensations. It often takes the form of spirit of adventure, in daring to see what will happen under unknown or untried circumstances. The satisfaction of any hunger brings with it thrills of enjoyment, and one can imagine the more rapid heart-beat and perhaps the momentary shocks experienced by the girl when she smokes her first cigarette, or, a few years ago, when the first flapper in town rolled her stockings. Similarly, the boy who has up to the age of twelve worn nothing but short trousers, goes through mixtures of queer feelings in which curiosity is not the least, on what is going to happen when he first wears long pants. The sophomore back home on vacation wearing new college togs may superficially represent the utmost blasé, careless demeanor, but the instinct of curiosity in wondering what the effect will be on his former associates is nevertheless there. Grown-ups are like children in respect to the possession of these feelings, and undoubtedly the first experiments with new styles whether in hair bobbing or in automobiles is accompanied by feelings of curiosity.

The tendency or *hunger for ownership* of property is one that is widespread in human beings. One finds outstanding expressions of this hunger in people who have hobbies for collecting postage stamps, coins, curios, and so on. Similarly, the hunger for ownership or acquisition, as it is commonly called, is seen as a strong factor in the tendencies to save, in hoarding and in all efforts at thrift. It is even possible that the property hunger is the most basic quality in the development of ability in trading or bargaining. In line with a desire to own, the mind is sharpened in the presentation of arguments and sales talks to the end that advantage may be secured.

All good advertising and salesmanship must depend upon the hunger for ownership to effect sale. This hunger tends to exert itself as a powerful feeling within us whenever we are deeply interested in any object that in any way may satisfy any of our other hungers. It may be stated as a general principle that whatever we like, whatever interests us, whatever we feel is desirable, that we will want to own. The impossibility of acquisition may check any definite formation of a hunger of ownership, but this does not destroy the view that the hunger to own follows closely upon the heels of perception of any object which will satisfy our other desires.

Advertising and salesmanship, as indicated above, work best when they call attention to merchandise that will satisfy some fundamental hunger. Indicate how this merchandise will satisfy the hunger, and the degree of satisfaction that may be obtained therefrom. When this has been accomplished the hunger for acquisition comes into action and develops a strong feeling of desire to own the merchandise. If there is a possibility of effecting the purchase, the merchandise is taken by the buyer.

There is another tendency which varies greatly in different people, but which is nevertheless to be found in many, namely, the *desire to manipulate, construct and build.* In simplest form

this hunger is merely one of picking things up, turning them about, handling them, rubbing them, pounding, smelling and tasting them. It seems to be closely related to the hunger of curiosity, but it goes farther in that the manipulation proceeds to construction, putting things together, making changes and adaptation. In the merchandising field, appeals are successfully made to this hunger by the sales of tools and construction materials, ranging from fancy work to building material, unfinished furniture, unpainted furniture, both of which are to be finally completed by the prospective purchaser. Semi-finished garments, untrimmed hats and goods to be embroidered sell because they minister to the desire for expression in construction which exists in a large number of human beings.

The *desire to play* is common to all children and as well to adults who have not been too much repressed by their environment. Play, which seems to be essentially a make-believe of working, fighting and of other real struggles of the world, takes the form of adventure, of hunting, fishing and other sports, in taking chances in which there is risk involved, or in which there is a possibility of loss or gain, as in gambling.

The *desire to travel,* to move, to migrate, to run away, is an exceedingly fundamental human hunger. Migration is in our inheritance. Periodical movings from place to place made necessary by the severe struggle for existence are common with all primitive people. Those who have seen the highly interesting movie entitled "Grass," have had the opportunity of observing on the screen a migration in modern times, which is probably characteristic of thousands of such migrations that have taken place in nearly all races in more primitive times. What was once a necessity still persists in the form of a human hunger. It would be hard to account for the amount of travel that one finds in any of the western countries, except on some such basis that there is a fundamental desire or hunger for it. This hunger brings with it the rich merchandising possibility

of the sale of all sorts of travel goods. An appeal to the wanderlust with suitable goods succeeds with most people.

One more hunger must be named, and that is the almost universal *desire in human beings for beauty and harmony* in some form or other. To this human hunger is due all sorts of efforts made at adornment, not only personal, but also in surroundings. This tendency or hunger also explains varying degrees or gradations of desire for orderliness, and perhaps even cleanliness. The desire for beauty has at certain periods in the world's history been very much more active than in others. Those periods have been characterized by general interest in art and efforts to improve and beautify the surroundings of life. For a number of years there has been an unmistakable tendency in the direction of greater interest in art in all forms in the United States as well as other western nations. It is probable that this is just the beginning of an extensive trend or movement that may carry over a great many years. It is more than a fashion—it seems to be the liberation of a fundamental human hunger, which in the past has been more or less suppressed by economic and other conditions. Removing the repression and subjection from this hunger for beauty, allowing it to take its natural course, that is, if it is not interrupted by destructive forces such as war or other catastrophes, is likely to carry the human race very far toward the development of much more beautiful and artistic surroundings and living conditions. Business men need to take this well into account. Art in industry is a relatively modern idea, particularly as applied to the period of the industrial revolution in which machine-made goods have largely replaced hand-made merchandise. Art in industry and in the products of industry is likely to be more and more insistently demanded in response to the liberation of this fundamental hunger for beauty.

It is hoped that this brief catalog of fundamental human tendencies or hungers, which is far from complete, will serve

to illustrate the makeup of normal human beings, and the objects or aims for which they strive.

In addition to the common tendencies enumerated above, there are also certain feelings or emotions which stand constantly in the background of the human mind and cast their effects over the human being as result of conditions which will be described. These background feelings are a necessary part of a living mechanism in helping it to survive and thrive.

First of all, there are the *feelings of satisfaction,* or comfort or well-being and contentment that come from giving the hungers what they want. It is these satisfactions already referred to in the beginning of this chapter for which all human effort is applied. The hungers themselves are the driving forces that actuate the living being to make the struggle. The hungers are a necessary part of the equipment in successfully meeting the struggle for existence, for without the hungers the living organism would not know of its needs and would perish. The feelings of satisfaction, elation or contentment are rewards that Mother Nature grants to the living organism for the success of its struggles.

Another feeling or emotion forming a part of human nature, but ordinarily resting on the horizon, is *anger or resentment and pugnacity.* This feeling arises wherever there is a block in the way or a frustration of the efforts made to satisfy any of the fundamental human hungers. In the equipment necessary for the primitive struggle for existence, anger and pugnacity, it will be seen, had a very important place, since they drove the individual to desperate efforts to destroy that which stood in its way, or caused it frustration.

In the struggles made by the human being for the satisfaction of its hungers, the unexpected sometimes happens, and when this does not actually frustrate or block progress, it arouses a feeling not of anger but of *surprise or wonder,* and

if the phenomenon causing the surprise is of sufficient importance it may even cause the *feeling of awe.*

Finally, there is that great powerful emotional cloud, known as *fear,* on the horizon of every living thing, also a necessary part of the equipment in the struggle for existence, warning the individual of its dangers, causing it to take defensive attitudes such as cowering, shrinking, hiding, dodging, screaming, crying, huddling in small space, shamming death, shyness, secretiveness, caution, suspicion, and so on.

These background feelings or emotions of satisfaction, of anger, of surprise and of fear are not a part of any particular hunger. They are associated with and part of all struggles, and may be a part of any struggle for the satisfaction of any hunger, and as we shall see a little farther on, may be very important in the determination of motives for fashion.

Specific Psychological Motives for Fashion

In the first part of this chapter we have devoted considerable space to a description of a number of the most important tendencies or hungers found in human nature. It shall now be our purpose to select from among these tendencies the ones which have an influence or in any way serve as a cause of fashion interest and fashion change. If we can successfully point out those inner human conditions which are responsible for fashion, we shall be able to understand fashion more clearly, and we may also be able to direct our business efforts with less waste and greater efficiency through the adaptation of fashion to human demands.

Preliminary to any consideration of psychological factors, it should be pointed out that the physical changes in temperature and weather conditions accompanying the *changes in seasons* constitute natural points at which changes in apparel are made, and also to some extent changes in furniture and home

furnishings, and that new fashions of necessity relate themselves to these periods of change. In other words, the time for the necessary changes in apparel to meet the change in season constitutes a good opportunity for new fashions to get started.

Formerly the changes in apparel and even in home furnishings accompanying the changes in seasons were very much more important than they are at the present time. The differences between summer and winter have of late years been greatly minimized by the invention of central heating and its application to homes of all kinds. The closed automobile has also been a factor making it unnecessary to wear the heavy types of garments that were formerly worn whenever their owners took trips out of doors. The extended use of furs in outer garments has also made unnecessary the change to heavier underwear that formerly was necessary and customary.

In spite of the improvements in modern heating, closed cars, warm outer wear, and so forth referred to above, the change in seasons still constitutes the main closing point for the fashions of the past season and the opening point for the fashions of the coming season.

One of the simplest facts that may be offered in explanation of fashion change is the human tendency to become tired of sensations that are experienced constantly. Garments that have been worn through a season have tired the eye and the sense of touch, and out of this *fatigue or boredom* there naturally develops a demand for something new. This is especially true in the case of strong colors, accessories of outstanding design and even of garments that have been long used.

Certain conditions of living favor the development of this fatigue with articles of constant use. People who have no deep life interests or whose contacts with life are few are much more likely to concentrate their interests in dress and other articles of consumption, than are those people who have a

variety of fundamental life interests or demands in many directions. The concentration of interest in goods in which fashion dominates, obviously leads more quickly to the feeling of boredom than is likely in a situation where little time or thought can be given to apparel, home furnishings and other similar lines. This fatigue, growing out of concentration of attention, brings with it strong desires for relaxation and for change, with the result that new fashions offered to such people are received with keen interest.

One's outlook on life and its purposes may greatly modify one's attitude toward goods in which fashion is prominent. At the present time, not a few people in western nations have departed from old-time standards of religion and philosophy, and having failed to develop forceful views to take their places, hold something that may be called, for want of a better name, a *philosophy of futility.* This view of life (or lack of view of life) involves a question as to the value of motives and purposes of the main human activities. There is ever a tendency to challenge the purpose of life itself. This lack of purpose in life has an effect on consumption similar to that of having narrow life interests, that is, in concentrating human attention on the more superficial things in which fashion reigns.

Precisely the same effect is seen among people who, through *lack of more serious interest,* think more of apparel, automobiles and home furnishings than of anything else, with the result that they grow tired more quickly of current fashions in these things.

Disappointment with achievements is also likely to produce an effect of fatigue, particularly with apparel and goods used in one's immediate surroundings. People who have been disappointed in the outcome of desired efforts are likely to feel their defects more or less keenly, and as a result, in many cases would like to change their environment if possible, and if this may not be, to change themselves. This desire for a change in

personality is probably much more common than most people think. Many people wish that they could be like other people, or as they think other people are. Attempts to change personality, however, are obviously impossible. It is not easy to jump out of oneself, but in the effort to make such changes as are possible, it is easy enough, particularly for people who have means, to change one's dress, and the mental effects of change of clothing are quite remarkable. Most people have experienced the stimulating effect that comes from making a complete change in clothing after a hard day of disappointment and defeat, with the resulting feeling of being a different person. Changes in fashion grow out of the same motive, namely, that of getting away from one's present personality and the difficulties into which it has plunged one. We desire here merely to point out that fatigue in experience with fashion goods, no matter what its cause may be, leads to a desire for change.

The next psychological motive underlying fashion to be mentioned here is *curiosity*. The desire for new sensations, and the spirit of adventure which dares to see what will happen under untried circumstances are powerful forces aiding the introduction of new fashions. Curiosity must occasionally come into conflict with custom and habit, since the desire for new sensations means a desire to break away from the customary. Curiosity may also be in conflict with what is beautiful and harmonious, when it tempts people to try new things that do not accord with any known principle of art. In the field of apparel, the introduction of a new fashion brings with it something of the spirit of adventure. The first individual in the community to try a new garment of a different decorative feature is likely to get something of a shock or thrill from the experience, and may likewise hope that others will be shocked as well. There is a little of something of the feeling of fear in the background of this motive, and a little of the hunger for praise. The adventurous spirit delights in experi-

menting with the possible effect of the new style on friends or casual associates, and enjoys the accompanying fear which arises from the possibility that it may be met with disapproval.

There is also occasionally among some people a real desire for improvement, a conscious effort to discover things that are of higher utility, or of finer appearance. All improvements must follow such a course as is taken by the advance of other fashions. Most improvements must travel the same conservative uphill roads, and in practically every improvement in apparel and home furnishings that has ever been made there is a romantic story of the difficulties encountered in its introduction, its spread, and of its final victory or adoption in the field.

Do Women Dress to Please Men?

There has been endless discussion over the question as to whether women dress to please men, and likewise, as to whether men dress to please women. Along with this question there has also been an implication that fashion movements might likewise be caused by the same fundamental hunger or desire in human nature to please the opposite sex. Much of the argument advanced to prove that men dress to please women, and that women dress to please men, is based on biological grounds. Hundreds of instances can be drawn from animal life, apparently conclusively proving that decorative features in bird, animal and insect life, such as brilliant colorings, wattles, combs, plumes, bushy tails, and so on, are really secondary sex characteristics whose biological purpose is to aid in the fascination of its sex mate. There is no desire here to minimize the power of sex hunger and its influence over human conduct, but it seems quite probable that the biological argument mentioned above is inadequate as an explanation of fashion.

First of all it may be assumed as a general truth that the desire to appear attractive to the opposite sex is universal

among human beings, as well as among all other forms of animal life. Consequently, the effort of both men and women to utilize art in making the most of their personal and sexual charm may likewise be credited to the force of sex hunger, but after this has been admitted, there still seems to be no satisfactory explanation for changes in fashion. Why should any highly attractive decoration once discovered, as successful in attracting mates, be discarded? Why should there be changes? Why should people imitate each other so widely? Biology supplies neither a direct answer nor even an analogy.

Furthermore, there is certainly no proof that fashion leaders are more attractive sexually than those who are followers, or even those who are very backward in accepting new fashions. If fashion movement were in any way an expression of sex hunger, then one would expect that there should be some correlation between the growth and spread of a new fashion, and the marriage rate, but no such relationship, so far as is known, has ever been discovered. In fact, it seems more likely that a heightened interest in fashion may conceivably result in a lowered interest in marriage and, consequently, a lowered marriage rate.

For those who maintain that women dress to please men, and for the time being disregarding the exceptional cases, the question may be asked: Are the new fashions, whatever they may be, ever dominated by what men prefer or like? There is, of course, no regular way in which the mass preferences of men could be registered and checked on such a matter as women's fashions, but if there were any opportunity for men to express their approval or disapproval in advance of adoption, does any reasonable person believe that the fashion of bobbed hair would ever have spread over the country, or that the fashion of short skirts would have become so universally adopted, or that skull caps would ever have become the vogue in millinery, or that rouge would ever be applied so thickly as

is now the fashion, or that "Narcisse Noire" perfume would have been the rage for more than a year, or that "slave bracelets" and pendant ear drops should have been the fashion in 1927?

To the writer it seems very doubtful, if men had had anything to say about it, that cigarette smoking would have been taken up by present-day women, and it also seems more than doubtful that the consumption of face powder and rouge, which are both high-fashion articles and which now approximate nearly a billion dollars sales per year, would ever have obtained their wide range of use, if men had been consulted on the subject. It isn't that men are any wiser than women in the selection of their fashions, but both are ruled by something other than sex regard.

In conclusion, it is quite probable that the sex hunger dominates the desire of both men and women to be attractive to each other, but this hunger scarcely explains the movement from one fashion to another. It may be well to keep in mind that the decorative impulses are probably fundamentally related to the sexual impulses, but we must look to other human tendencies for explanations of fashion changes and fashion movements.

Probably one of the most important forces helping to bring about fashion changes in a large way is the tendency of human nature *to rebel against too much convention* and too much system. Such rebellions are characteristic in young people. Youth is in almost constant conflict with the customs and conventions of the time. In history, it is noteworthy that tyrants are almost always old and liberty is almost always represented by youth. The extent to which youth varies from the normal standard set by older people in customs and conventions may be illustrated to some extent by statistics of the difficulties that young people get into. More than 80% of all crimes are committed by persons under 22 years of age.

The average age of burglars is only about 21 years. More than 50% of automobile thefts are committed by persons under 18 years of age, and over 40% of unmarried mothers average 16 years of age.[1]

The *conflict of youth with convention* grows out of the difficulty of learning the rules of society as set down by custom. Youth finds it difficult to fit into the scheme of things, particularly when customary practices are the result of long development and refinement. In the field of dress, as well as in popular thinking and government, changes and new styles are generally sponsored by youth, and even in dress these new styles are often offered with all the ardor of revolution. The new fashion is promoted by appeals to freedom as well as beauty and efficiency.

The spirit of youth which occasionally finds expression in outbreaks against custom moves in cycles very much the same as fashions themselves. At any given time, those young people ranging from 15 to 25 years of age represent the ones who find it most difficult to make their adjustment to customary life. After the age of 25 youth begins to settle down, makes its compromises with custom and thereafter tends to support custom against the rebellions of youth following. Thus, the customs of any given time are really controlled by people ranging from 25 years of age up to the end of life.

The struggle to break down any custom, whether in politics, art, or fashion, is usually a difficult one, and takes several years. Probably those children who are only 15 years of age become 25 or 30 years of age before the reforms they seek and that are sought by their companions become established as the new custom. And after a youth movement has succeeded in impressing its changes, there is likely to follow a period of from 15 to 30 years more before there is strength enough in the group of oncoming youth to force new reforms.

[1] *North American Review,* March, 1927.

Thus, it is possible that there may be more or less regularity in the periods of rebellion of youth against convention, followed by intervening periods, in which older people and custom factors dominate completely. Probably this youth movement cycle, from the period of the greatest interest in establishing new customs, fashions and thinking, to the period of the least interest, is not less than 30 years. It may be more. It seems that there have been at least three periods of heightened interest such as characterizes youth movements in this country since the period of the Revolutionary War, and there appears to have been at least two periods in which society was ruled by people past 50 years of age, without any effective complaint from the younger people. There have been several outstanding youth movements in past history. The question may be reasonably raised as to whether this present youth movement may not already have reached its culmination, and in the near future may start its decline.

The characteristics of a *youth movement,* from the standpoint of the interpretation of and application to fashion, are—an intense interest in youth, the dominance of ideas commonly held by youth, the tendency for people of all ages to dress in the manner of youth, to act as young people do, to think as young people do, and to make believe, so far as may be possible, that they are young people. An era of smooth shaving is a characteristic of a youth movement. Heightened interest in athletics, in outdoor sports, in maintaining youthful appearance, are likewise characteristics of a youth movement.

On the other hand, everybody wants to appear mature during a period in which age receives respect and honor, and when the higher places go to old men rather than to young men. Youths desire to look older, young girls lengthen their skirts so that they may be thought older, boys lie about their ages when asked about them, and even students in the colleges grow beards as a sign of maturity. These are some characteristics of a period

of maturity, or an old-age movement. The effects of youth and age movements on fashions are profound.

Probably the most active as well as effective human hunger underlying fashion is the desire for *self-assertion,* the desire to be different. It will be recalled that in the earlier part of this chapter, this desire or hunger was described as taking the form of an effort to secure recognition, and then in even stronger gradation, the desire for approval, influence, prestige, freedom from control, power over others, and so on.

The *feeling of self-assertion or the desire to be different* grows out of a feeling of inferiority. Alfred Adler, a former disciple of Sigmund Freud and a practicing physician in Vienna, has developed a theory that inferior feeling originates in actual or imagined physical defects. No attempt at a further analysis of this theory will be made here. It is probably a safe assumption that such feelings do exist in varying degrees in most people, and whether they are due to actual or imagined physical defects, or are caused by such other things as repression or control from outside, or disappointment in achievement, their existence does have a marked effect upon the character of their possessor.

The methods of meeting feelings of inferiority may be classified under three headings: The person with an inferiority feeling may avoid or attempt to avoid all competition, so that unfavorable comparisons cannot be made between himself and others. This generally leads to a retirement from competitive groups and, as practically all social groups are competitive, would mean at least a partial withdrawal from ordinary social intercourse. Such retirement in turn produces a character that tends to be shy, bashful, backward, reserved, introspective, brooding, self-loving, and perhaps suspicious of others. The psychologists have named this type of personal character an introvert, meaning one who has turned his interests upon himself, rather than toward the outside world. The term, extra-

vert, is used to designate the type of character that seeks its life solutions by outward expression and contacts.

Feelings of inferiority are sometimes met by direct combative methods. The story of Demosthenes who, as a young man, suffered serious speech defects, but who set out to correct them, and in time became the greatest orator that Greece had known, is an example of frontal attack on a problem of inferiority. Theodore Roosevelt as a boy possessed very poor health, was weak in physique and dominated by inferiority feelings. By direct methods, training, exercise, he set out to correct his physical inferiority, and his success is well known. Those who overcome their inferiority feelings, by directly facing them, exercise great resolution and put terrific drives into their efforts to overcome these feelings by exercise and education, and even in some cases by operation.

The third method of overcoming the feeling of inferiority is by the development of an alternative, protective superiority. Thus the slow-thinking, overgrown boy, who lags behind in his work in the grades, becomes the school bully. He takes pride in licking the boy who stands at the head of the class. While his repeated failure proves to him that he cannot be superior in book learning, he gets his satisfaction by the development of an alternative superiority, by defeating the brilliant boy of his class in physical combat.

In a similar manner the students who are only of average ability in school because of the feelings of inferiority developed while in school, often become the outstanding successes in business in later life. Continued failure in comparison with the better students makes its impress, and with a change of environment some of them at least set out to develop this alternative, protective superiority, to prove that they can make good.

The existence of inferiority feelings can be detected on every hand. Any unusual efforts to prove personal superiority,

all cases of social climbing and social racing, "keeping up with Lizzie," and shame of low personal origin are certain symptomatic indications of inferiority feelings.

Persons who have intense feelings of inferiority sometimes take a special interest in successful people, as manifested in their desire to meet them, to shake them by hand, to be able to say that they have met them. In other cases, persons with strong inferiority feelings develop deep interest in the study of the lives of great men, particularly those of outstanding power and will. The study of the life of Napoleon is typical. The person with strong inferiority feelings finds himself deeply interested in the personality and exploits of historic leaders of known superiority.

Wherever one runs across ambition accompanied by strong feeling, there is almost certainly a basis of inferiority feeling. Anger in a game is a sure sign of inferiority feeling. Vigorous personal assertion, loud conversation, boasting, the use of loud apparel, gaudy colors, grand manners and monopoly of conversation are other distinctive symptoms of this feeling. The tendency to engage in rivalry grows directly out of inferiority feeling. People who cannot take a joke, who take offense easily, represent other types of inferiority feeling. Flirts are notably possessed by inferiority feeling. Continued and successive flirtations grow out of the fear that there is something sexually lacking, and flirtation with a view to sex conquest is taken as a method of proof that the individual is not inferior in sex qualities. In married life the continuous demand for proofs of affection by either partner, which sometimes becomes burdensome, is significant of inferiority feelings.

Some people have explained drunkenness, that is, the use of alcoholics and even of drugs, as a means of compensating inferiority feeling. People who feel that they lead futile lives, and are impressed with their failure and inferiority, are led to take the cheap and easy means of securing release from these

feelings through intoxicants and drugs. The intoxicant produces an illusion of escape from the sense of futility, failure and inferiority.

It is possible that women are more especially affected by inferiority feeling than men, although there is no way of proving this. The argument in supporting this contention is that women have for a long time been struggling very hard for certain changes in political and economic position, and in this struggle they have been subjected to very humiliating conditions. In consequence their effort has been constantly to prove their equality with men in order that they might attain the vote, or the economic position that they have desired. As a result of this effort women have gone long distances to prove their equality with men by adopting the manners, the conversation, the mannish clothing, and other activities of men. In sports, they have gradually imitated and adopted men's styles in athletics, swimming, mountain climbing, riding horseback, serving overhead tennis, swimming with overarm strokes and so on. They have likewise imitated the vices of men such as smoking and drinking, presumably with the view of proving their equality and their capacity for these as well as for the virtues of men.

The foregoing list of what may be called the symptoms of inferiority feelings is extensive enough to prove that this feeling is a very common one. This is undoubtedly the case. The extent of the feeling certainly varies, not only from individual to individual, but also in the same individual from time to time. An excess of inferiority feeling results in eccentricity, if not in insanity. In moderate degree, inferiority feelings constitute one of the chief incentives to progress and self-development.

The relation of inferiority feeling, and the desire to overcome the inferiority feeling, to dress and fashion in dress may now be briefly explained. First of all, as indicated earlier

in this chapter, change in dress gives the illusion of change in personality. The housewife who does her own housework probably dresses in an apron or a house dress for the purpose, and as long as she is dressed in this manner and is doing the routine work of the home, it is likely that she feels as if she were something of a drudge. If after completing her work she makes a change to an afternoon dress or street garment, the change makes a lady out of her. The change of personality from that of a household drudge to a lady has been completed. Something of the same thing takes place when factory workers don their street clothes before emerging from the factory at the close of the working day. In their factory clothing they are workers. In their street clothes they are ladies and gentlemen, and in their own minds comparable in every way with ladies and gentlemen of any grade or classification.

There is also a social satisfaction in being well dressed that needs to be stressed in this connection. The relation that dress bears to sprucing up temporary failures, and to helping them to get jobs and put them on their feet again is recognized by all social workers.

Both men and women, but probably more women than men, have experienced the feeling of being at the tail end of everything, and have revived a feeling of self-confidence and even of elation by going out and buying apparel that is different from, or at least as fine as, anything worn by their associates.

A life of futility indeed is not so bad if one can but lead in something recognized by the group. Thus members of the leisure class who become proficient in polo playing, in the knowledge of antiques, in playing bridge, in dancing or even in dress achieve a certain satisfaction of self-assertion, if not of superiority, that seems to make life worthwhile. The hunger for self-assertion is undoubtedly one of the most powerful forces promoting changes of fashion.

The hunger for *companionship* is effective in fashion move-

ment in promoting imitation of what the leaders of any group are wearing or using. As already pointed out, the very essence of companionship is that those who are companions should be alike, and this alikeness exists not only in thinking, but also in expression, in education, ideals, philosophy of life, religion, politics, activities and in dress.

One occasionally hears the statement made that people who are very unlike are very good friends or good companions. It may be assumed that there are such cases, but it may also be safely assumed that such instances are the exceptions rather than the rule. There are old maxims which are based on fundamental social principle, such as "birds of a feather flock together," "like seeks like," "when in Rome do as the Romans do," and so on.

Companionship means the formation of groups, and social groups of all kinds demand conformity from their members. People who are different in thought and expression cannot really become members of a group. They are always somewhat outside. Similarly, people who dress differently are thought queer.

The significance of this principle of social psychology becomes highly apparent when we think of the necessity to dress in fashion on the part of people who are dependent on others, in business or in any other social capacity. Salesmen, politicians, society leaders and, in general, all employees who desire to make progress in their respective capacities and who wish to avoid being thought queer or have any thoughts or distractions other than upon the propositions they have to offer, must of necessity conform to the groups into whose activities they enter, and particularly in such matters as dress. Such conformity means following the fashion.

Imitation is of course second-rate origination. Origination of style takes time, energy, art and courage. It is also expensive. Most of us are lacking in the artistic ability to

originate; most of us have neither the time nor the energy to devote to this kind of work. As already indicated, it would take a high degree of courage to originate and use styles quite different from those employed by the social groups of which we form a part. All that most of us can do is to imitate. Creation and origination are usually left to the so-called style leaders, those who have the time and money, artistic knowledge and, last but not least, the courage to try out new things.

In imitation there is, therefore, the desire to be like the group in order to be one of its members, but there may also be a competition within the group in which early imitation not only results in proving one's equality with the leaders, but also one's superiority over the poorer members of the group.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the specific motive or factors for fashion interest and fashion changes, in addition to the physical reasons for change such as occur at the end of each season, are the boredom or fatigue with current fashion, curiosity, desire to be different or self-assertion, rebellion against convention, companionship and imitation. There may be other factors in human nature promoting fashion interest, but these are sufficiently effective and inclusive upon which to build a practical theory of fashion.

There remains to be described briefly the function of *commercial promotion* and its relation to fashion. Advertising men and salesmen have been very strong in their claim that commercial promotion has created markets and started fashions in new fields. It is probable that most advertising successes have occurred in fields in which the consumers were quite ripe for them. To illustrate, the Gillette Safety Razor has been a very great commercial success, and some advertising men have made the claim that Gillette started the fashion of smooth shaving for men. By reference to history, it will be found that the tendency to smooth shaving had already been well established, and that men were using the old-fashioned razors in great

quantities when Gillette razors were placed on the market. The Gillette Safety Razor came into use because it was an improvement over the old type of razor, and its utility as an improvement caused it to be sold with great success. It is quite possible that the safety razor helped to spread the fashion of smooth shaving; it is also quite possible that the safety razor helped to spread the wave of smooth shaving much more rapidly than it might otherwise have spread, but it can scarcely be credited with actually starting the fashion of smooth shaving.

There have been two other periods in American history in which men took to smooth shaving: first, during the time of the Revolution, then again in the 40's and 50's, and last, since 1900. During the 20's and 30's, and again in the 70's, 80's and 90's, men followed the fashion of wearing full beards.

While this can only be a conjecture, it seems probable that if Gillette Safety Razors had been placed on the market twenty-five years earlier than they actually did arrive, it would have coincided with the very height of the fashion of wearing full beards, and as a consequence might have proved a complete failure. On the other hand, if the safety razor had been invented and placed upon the market during the early 50's when smooth shaving was a fashion among men, it seems highly probable that it would have turned out a great commercial success even in those days.

Commercial promotion works very successfully when it goes with a fashion trend, but it has a difficult job when it works against a trend. Commercial promotion functions best when it follows the following order: first, to find the trend; second, to push the goods that go with them; and third, to tell the truth about style and fashion. Using the prestige to tell a public that a certain article is in fashion when it is not and may never be in fashion is fully as injurious to advertising as falsehood regarding the value or construction of the product.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE THE CHARACTER AND DIRECTION OF FASHION MOVEMENTS

What, then, determines the choice of styles in the making of a new fashion? Do fashions tend to follow certain highways and reject others, and if so what are the reasons for the choice of these highways? If these questions can be answered much progress will have been made toward a rational explanation of fashions. In this chapter an attempt will be made to list and describe the factors that guide and influence the character and direction of fashion movements.

These factors may be classified under three general headings, namely: (a) outstanding or dominating events; (b) dominating ideals which mold the thought and action of large numbers of people; and (c) dominating social groups that rule or lead and influence the rest of society.

Dominating Events

Under the head of dominating events, the first and most important illustration to be given was that of the World War which, of course, overshadowed every other occurrence in modern times. Its influence on fashions was profound. Millions of civilians changed from ordinary apparel to military dress, generally somber khaki, significant of the serious business of war. Most men left at home became more conservative about dress. Less attention was given to apparel by both men and women, and a general slowing up of all fashion movement characterized the period. The apparel of women was likewise deeply influenced by the war. Millinery, coats and dresses,

as well as shoes, took on a military appearance. The use of braids, buttons and tailored effects was emphasized. There was a distinct trend, during this period, toward mannish costumes.

Following the war, particularly in France and England and to some extent in this country, fashions were deeply subdued in the spirit of mourning over the many loved ones who had been lost in the war. Women's apparel remained dominantly black during 1919 and 1920 throughout the fashion world.

Whenever a great misfortune occurs, its effect on fashion movement is instantaneous and far-reaching. In Japan when an emperor or some other member of the royal household dies, it is a fixed custom that the entire nation should go into mourning, so that the fashion movements in existence prior to this event are completely checked by the adoption of mourning costumes of the people.

In America particularly, and similarly in the colonies of European nations, the visits of famous people from Europe have often brought notable effects on fashion. In 1823 the United States was visited by Lafayette, who during the Revolution aided the American cause. By this time he was quite an old man with the conservative tastes of a cultured Frenchman who looked back to the régime of Louis XVI and Queen Marie Antoinette, rather than forward to more modern influences. Similarly, his dress represented conservative French style rather than the more vigorous and possibly less artistic dress that was coming into use in France and elsewhere in the 20's. However, Lafayette's visit affected fashions extensively, in that many features of his attire were followed by women as well as by men, thus helping to maintain the conservative French influence in American dress for at least five or six years longer than it might otherwise have been maintained, had it not been for his visit.

In 1851 another distinguished visitor, Louis Kossuth, Hun-

garian patriot, visited the United States, practically as the nation's guest. Everywhere he went, he was received with enthusiasm and every mark of honor. One of the most important effects of his visit was a change in style, and the adoption of a new fashion in men's hats. At the time of his visit American men of all classes very generally wore stiff, hard, high hats, the "chimney pot hat." Louis Kossuth came to this country wearing a soft felt or velour hat such as worn at the time by Hungarians as a part of their national costume. This men's soft hat impressed American men so much that they began to adopt its use, so that by 1860 probably half of the men in the country were wearing soft hats.

In 1860 another distinguished visitor arrived in the United States, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII of England. Prince Albert Edward appeared at many public gatherings and functions in this country, and at these wore a double-breasted, broadcloth frock coat that came nearly to the knees. This type of frock coat was new to most Americans and struck their fancy, with the result that for thirty years following his visit the Prince Albert coat continued to be the standard style for men, for formal occasions.

There seems to be considerable reason for the belief that the people of this country do not now adopt and follow fashions by imitation of famous visitors to such a great extent as formerly. During the last score of years there have been many princes, dukes and even an occasional king or queen, but in no case have they left with our people such positive fashions as did Louis Kossuth in 1851, and Prince Albert Edward in 1860.

The visit of the Prince of Wales in 1924 was hailed by commercial interests as a wonderful opportunity for the promotion of new fashions. Through ambitious commercial enterprise, it was known in advance of his visit to this country what styles of clothing he would wear. Both tailoring and manu-

facturing institutions accordingly made their plans for the promotion of these styles to the American public. Among the items so offered were Glen Urquhart plaids, blue shirts and snap brim hats, all of which were worn by the Prince of Wales. All of these undoubtedly received much sales impetus from the Prince's visit, as well as from the stronger commercial promotion accompanying the Prince's visit, but it does not seem that any one of the three offered anything very revolutionary in change from what had been in use before. The raw edge hat brim was not a new feature in American hat styles, blue shirts had certainly been worn before his visit, and Glen Urquhart plaids were not greatly different from other plaids that had been offered and sold to American men for business and sport wear for at least twelve years preceding.

Queen Marie of Roumania visited the United States in 1927. Much interest developed among commercial concerns dealing in women's fashions, over the possible effect on American fashions. With the possible exception of some increased sale and use of jewelry, particularly of 60- and 72-inch pearl necklaces, it would be difficult to point to any concrete effect whatsoever on fashions produced by this famous Queen's visit. American women were generally very much interested in what Queen Marie wore. Her taste was admired, but no widespread imitation of what she wore followed among American women.

Another type of dominating events that exercises a very great deal of influence over fashion movements are the art vogues that occasionally sweep over the world. Art itself is, of course, influenced by fashion. Therefore it is not surprising that the application of any particular style of art to apparel, home furnishings and automobiles should form a very important place in fashion movements.

From the standpoint of its influences on fashion, the most remarkable art movement in modern times came out of Russia

in connection with the Russian ballet, together with music and decorations accompanying the ballet. The Russian ballet first appeared in Paris in the season of 1909-10. Parisians and visitors from other parts of the world who happened to be in Paris that year received the Russian ballet with storms of applause. During the period from 1910 down to the opening of the World War, the Russian ballet was presented in most of the principal cities of Europe and of America as well.

The Russian ballet was undoubtedly one of the early sources of the so-called modern art movement. Its significance is so great to this movement that the names of its leaders are worth while mentioning. Diaghilev was the guiding and organizing genius who staged the productions. Fokine devised the dances. Bakst provided the scenery and costumes. The incomparable Pavlowa, who was one of the early dancing stars, is known in almost all parts of this country.

The Russian ballet not only introduced a new type of music and dance, but also a new form of decoration, quite definitely departing from the classic standards that had previously dominated in the western art world. The use of lines, lights and colors, in unconventional ways, constituted a new note in decorative effect that is gradually becoming a fashion in the art world and is being carried over into apparel, furniture, interior decoration, automobiles, jewelry, glass, pottery and many other applied and useful arts. The modern art movement has shown marked development, and undoubtedly possesses additional important potentialities for the future. Its influence will well bear watching for its effects on fashions for several years to come.

Fashion has also been very much influenced by Spanish art since the World War, but more particularly from 1921 down to 1925. The rich color effects secured by modern Spanish artists have served as an effective supplement to the Russian art. The modern art movement undoubtedly owes much to

Spanish art, and Spanish art has been the inspiration for several fashion motives during the last ten years, such as the use of rouge, certain types of hair dressing, softening the line of the feminine silhouette, and so on.

As an illustration of the effect on fashion of more or less accidental events, one may mention the discovery of the tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen in Egypt in 1923, and the curious interest manifested during 1924 in the treasures found in this tomb. The publication of the illustrations of ancient Egyptian art found in this tomb excited all classes of people very extensively, and resulted in widespread success and adoption of the so-called Tut-Ankh-Amen styles in many lines, such as in fabric designs, in millinery, in jewelry and other accessories.

World's fairs have had important effects on fashion. For example, the Centennial Exhibition held in Philadelphia in 1876 brought together a collection of exhibits from all of the arts, including fabrics, articles of home furnishing, such as furniture, draperies, carpets, silverware, china, glass, and so on. For many years preceding 1876, the people of the United States had been intensively occupied in rebuilding the resources of the country that had been broken down by the Civil War, in developing the new West, in building railroads, in opening up vast farming areas, in digging mines, cutting down forests and otherwise preparing the country for civilization, but in this close work with the crude elemental forces of nature, interest in the arts and particularly in the applied arts had been allowed to decline. The period from 1860 down to 1885 was one in which the public interest in art was probably at the lowest level it has ever reached in this country. The masses of people apparently took less interest in clothing, in personal appearance and in the furnishings of their homes than at any period previous or since.

The Centennial Exhibition served to mark the turning point in awakening public taste in the arts. People, particularly from

the middle and far western portions of the country, who had gained material prosperity from their contact with nature, from mining, lumbering, stock-raising, farming and railroad building, came to this exposition. What they saw opened their eyes and taught them to appreciate finer things in fabrics, apparel, furniture, home furnishings and other lines of goods used in the arts of living, goods that had formed but a small part of their thought up to that time. What they saw and learned from these exhibits they carried back home with them to their respective communities, and gradually changes began to be made to correspond to the new ideals expressed by the exhibition. It would be difficult to overestimate the far-reaching effects of the Centennial Exhibition on the common life of the people. The influence of this exhibition continued over a period of several years following.

The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 likewise had a marked influence on the consumption habits of the people of this country, but the movement for more art and luxury in the common life had already well begun, so that the Chicago Exposition served more to emphasize and promote, rather than to set off new trends. New fashions came into existence as a result of the Chicago World's Fair, but these for the most part were in minor details and smaller changes, rather than in revolutionary character.

One noteworthy exception must be mentioned. The Chicago World's Fair was a remarkable achievement from an architectural standpoint. There had been but little progress in the arts of building from the period of 1860 down to 1893. Office buildings, stores, factories and all varieties of domestic architecture were generally ugly in design. The beautiful architecture at the Chicago World's Fair started a new and welcome fashion in building. People who visited the Chicago World's Fair gained new standards in architecture which they were not slow in putting to use in the various parts of the country. The

Chicago World's Fair buildings and grounds were planned and laid out by artists and architects who were imbued not only with classic ideals and education, but with the needs of modern life as well, so that something of a neo-classic result was obtained embodying both excellent classic art and modern convenience.

Public buildings and the larger structures for business purposes were the first to carry out and follow the examples set by the Chicago World's Fair, but by the beginning of the twentieth century the wave of fashion in architecture had reached domestic buildings of all types.

Another interesting effect on fashion resulting from the Chicago World's Fair was the reestablishment of the influence of Paris in women's apparel. Following the breakdown of the French Second Empire under Louis Napoleon and Eugénie in 1870, France lost considerable influence over fashion for women in the United States. Paris fashions continued to be reported in the fashion journals of the 80's and early 90's, but importation of Paris gowns to this country dropped to almost nothing.

Several Paris dressmakers united in sending an exhibit of fashionable apparel to the Chicago World's Fair. This exhibit attracted considerable attention, and at the close of the Fair was sold to a leading American department store. Prior to this not more than a half dozen American stores, if that many, had established regular buying of Paris style goods for their American customers. Following the exhibit at the Chicago World's Fair, within a short time several department stores began to send buyers to Paris regularly.

There have been many expositions and world's fairs held in various cities in Europe as well as in this country since 1893. Each has no doubt contributed its share of influence in the development of fashions, but with one exception, probably none of them has had such outstanding effects as the two that have

been mentioned here. These two, the Philadelphia and the Chicago Fairs, came at critical or timely periods in the development of the country, so that the changes following were highly remarkable.

The exception referred to in the foregoing paragraph was the "International Exposition of Industrial and Decorative Arts," held in Paris in 1925. Modern art and its application to the products of industry had been developing for several years before this exposition in practically all of the western countries. In some lines it seems that this new art had been carried even farther than in France. There were many critics who, in looking over the field of practical art, began in 1923 and 1924 to suggest that France was losing its leadership even in the creation of apparel styles. Paris met this challenge effectively by holding this exposition, and by inviting the exhibition of articles of all kinds embodying modern art from all countries in the world.

Many nations participated in the Paris exposition. Notable exhibits were made by Czechoslovakia, Germany, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, and even Russia. The United States was not represented. Individuals as well as industries from many other parts of the world made their artistic contributions to this exhibition. As indicated by the title, it was essentially an exhibition of industrial and decorative arts; thus there were shown a great many lines of merchandise representing practically all classes of consumers' goods in which style fashion interest is always a dominant factor.

The interest that had developed in modern art before 1925 was given a great deal of impetus by the exposition. It was visited by a large number of people, including business men and women as well as artists and craftsmen, all of whom carried their impressions of the exposition back to their own localities, and began to apply them in various ways. Since the International Exposition of Industrial and Decorative Arts was held

in Paris, modern art has spread very widely. It has been applied in a great many ways and the present trend seems to be toward a much wider application and use. It looks as if modern art, so called, represents the beginnings of a fundamental fashion which may well become a very important cycle, extending all over the world before it gives way to some new movement.

Since the exposition was held in Paris, there have been many minor exhibitions and displays of modern art in various other places, in connection with art museums and in business institutions. In 1927, R. H. Macy and Company conducted an extensive exhibit of home furnishings in the modernistic art note. In 1928, Lord and Taylor, Inc., and several other stores in the United States held exhibits of home furnishings and other goods in which the modern art influence was uppermost.

Dominating Ideals

Among the dominating ideals that have been influential at one time or another in the past, there may be mentioned the classic Greek ideal of pure beauty, or art for art's sake, in which utility was subordinated to efforts to secure the highest emotional appeal to the human sense of beauty. The Roman ideal of order and efficiency likewise produced its effect on fashion, differing extensively from that of the Greak ideal, even at the same time of history. The Roman ideal, however, continued for several hundreds of years after classic Greek art influence had disappeared as the dominating force in Europe.

The religious ideals of the world have in like manner influenced the consumption and arts of life of the people very greatly. A religion, for example, such as that of the Hindoos, raises an ideal of quiet contemplation for its subjects in which, naturally, consumption takes a very minor place, for consump-

tion is primarily an activity or a function of activity. The pursuit of fashion is contrary to a life of contemplation.

While the ideals taught by Jesus were of universal brotherhood, sympathy and compassion, the religion of the Christians for a long period of time was characterized by a strong interest in a future life, quite definitely at the expense of interests in present life, and a desire to save people from going to Hell by inquisition and force if necessary. Preparation for life in another world became the dominant aim of life in this, with the result that the common activities of the present life were looked upon as a means rather than as the end of life. In consequence, the ordinary arts of life, such as affect food, clothing, shelter, were given minor consideration. Interest in the fine arts, in so far as they were utilized at all, extended solely to their application to religious subjects, such as in the architecture of churches, sculpture, painting and carving of religious subjects, and so on. Clothing and home furnishings for the masses of the people remained very primitive, and followed the lines of custom. There appears to have been very little change in fashion over long periods of time. Traditions ruled. Interests in developing the arts naturally declined to a minimum. It was altogether a dark age so far as fashion was concerned.

The rise of modern western nations has been accompanied by the development of certain political philosophies such as support republican forms of government and democracy. There are students who think this development culminated at the time of the World War. There is neither time nor place here to speculate in detail on the future of this great fashion in political thinking. This digression may be pardoned. What strange irony of fate if the war waged for the purpose of making the world safe for democracy, should have marked the beginning of the end of this ideal of government.

The development of the western nations has carried with it the upbuilding of ideals of national greatness in which the functions of citizenship have been emphasized and stressed. Patriotism, as a necessary part of citizenship, has become a great fashion, extending from loyalty to the local community up to a loyalty for state and nation. These ideals have been influential in many ways on the arts of living and the fashions affecting them. One might mention the interest taken by every nation struggling to make the most of itself in developing its home industries and arts.

Whatever the outcome may be as to the ideals of citizenship, certainly the national walls erected are not sufficient to prevent the interchange of styles and arts. There is nothing quite so international in present-day life as fashion. While it may have been possible in times past to count on the people of the country to follow the fashions developed within that country, legislative edicts aiming at such results in these days have but little effect. For example, in 1924 Mussolini urged that Italian women should wear apparel designed and made in Italy. Mussolini's outburst seems to have had little or no effect in spite of the fact that probably no person in modern times has commanded the power and influence that Mussolini has over the people of Italy. Rulers of other nations as well as church dignitaries have attempted national or local modifications of fashions, but the results have apparently never been impressive.

In certain periods of history, and in certain countries, ancestor worship has prevailed. In modified degree one finds something of this among the western nations as well as in China and Japan which are usually given as examples of countries in which this ideal prevails to the greatest extent in modern times. Under the ideals of ancestor worship, respect for age and for the traditions of the past dominates the thought

and activities of the people. Custom, ritual and formalism take the place of change, and fashion tends to move slowly under these conditions.

The opposite ideal of ancestor worship is represented in youth movements which characterized other periods of history. In an era in which ideals of youth are dominant, respect for age and custom declines, interest in the activities of youth, such as athletics, games, sports, adventure and all outdoor activity, increases. As fashion moves but slowly in periods when ancestors or older generations dominate, so in periods of youth movement, fashion tends to rapid change.

As one looks back over the history of civilization, there appears to have been a ceaseless conflict of ideals for supremacy. Some ideals were worked out and applied in highly practical ways, while others, perhaps highly desirable, obtained practically no influence whatsoever. Many of such ideals or philosophies of life have never progressed beyond the stage of theory. Among these may be mentioned such ideals as general or universal kindliness taught by many great leaders, the ideal of the simple life that has been offered to humanity again and again by great philosophers, beautiful living frequently urged by teachers and artists as a solution of the problems of human life, complete all-round development which was the educational ideal of the classic Greeks, humility of spirit taught to the English for an entire generation by one of its greatest school masters, Matthew Arnold.

Desirable as these ideals may have been, for the most part they never obtained a position of sufficient importance to sway or influence the thought or manner of living of any important part of society. These ideals are simply mentioned here to indicate the variety of philosophies which have been devised, and which have been offered but for some reason or other have never become the ruling fashion.

Dominating Groups

Among the dominating groups that affect the manner of living of society, one may mention those who occupy positions of power or leadership over others, such as royalty and nobility, the government officers and the heads of the army and navy as found in most nations. Kings, queens and princes have set the fashions for their subjects for ages, and while there have been exceptions, up to the last century, most of the people looked to their ruling classes for suggestions and for leadership in their fashion movements. As has already been pointed out, the power of ruling classes over the arts of living as practiced by the masses of the people has apparently declined. Mention is made here of this power because of its historic importance.

As indicated under our consideration of dominating ideals, periods of ancestor worship are characterized by domination of social groups made up of older people. Parents and the older generations set the standards under these conditions for the imitation of children and of younger people. It is interesting to note how the pendulum swings from varying degrees of ancestor worship to youth movements, and back again. During the past twenty-five years, and particularly since the World War, the western nations have experienced a very strong youth movement, an interest in the activities of youth, the manner of living of youth, and so on. During an earlier period, say from 1860 down to 1900, the interests of the masses of people seemed to have centered in maturity, in things dignified by age. Appointments to high official political positions, high positions in business, particularly in places requiring contact with the public, went to older men and to persons appearing mature. The era was characterized by an effort on the part of both men and women to make themselves appear mature by the art of dress.

In all probability the present youth movement will in time decline and may then be followed by another era of several years in which maturity and age may have a more important place in the social scheme than it has at present.

For at least the past one hundred and fifty years the possession of wealth and the power to use such wealth have been the most important factors, not only in the business field but in social life as well. Even during eras of youth worship, or of ancestor worship, wealth serves as a background, and in combination with the other factors dominates the thoughts and activities of the time.

It may be possible to indicate in somewhat greater detail just how the factor of wealth and the power of the groups possessing wealth influence the character and direction of fashion movement, and in this the views expressed by Veblen in "The Theory of the Leisure Class" will be followed quite closely.

If wealth and the possession of wealth are important determining factors in the field of fashion, then it may be assumed that the fashion, whatever it may be, must demonstrate the presence or possession of that wealth. There are, in general, two ways in which wealth may be demonstrated. The first is by means of habits of life that will indicate to the social world that the consumer need not work for a living, or, as Veblen expresses it, proving the possession of wealth by *conspicuous leisure.* The second method of demonstrating the ownership of wealth and power in its use is by means of *conspicuous consumption.* In every case in which the power of wealth is dominant either one or both of these methods of demonstration of wealth is likely to appear.

The reader is referred to Veblen's work for a complete development of this thought. Only a few suggestions concerning its implications are offered here.

In former periods when slavery formed a part of the social

and economic organization of nations, obviously certain forms of labor came to be considered degrading, and suitable only for slaves to perform. The stigma attached to these forms of labor has, to some extent, continued down to the present in spite of the fact that the institution of slavery has disappeared from practically all nations.

Under the complex economic organizations of the present time, there is always the tendency to classify the various kinds of work according to their desirability, not from the standpoint of utility, but rather from the standpoint of the honor or dishonor connected with them. Thus all forms of simple manual labor of the unskilled type have been generally accorded the lowest place in this classification. Next have come those kinds of work that might be classified as semi-skilled and then the skilled trades and occupations. Higher up the social scale one finds types of work, such as clerical positions, in which it is possible for the worker to wear better clothing, white collars and creased pants. Still farther up the scale come the supervisory and executive as well as the professional occupations.

The arrangement of work in grades is, of course, largely artificial, for it would be very difficult for anyone to prove by any method of logic that the work of a salesman in a retail store, or a clerk in a bookkeeper's department, is any higher or more useful, or more necessary in any way to society than the work done by a farmer out in the field, or a ditch digger in the street. There is no question, however, of the fact that society does evaluate the positions held by the salesman and the clerk as more socially desirable.

In consequence of this development of grades of work according to social importance, the means of consumption, such as dress, automobiles and street front architecture, are employed to prove that those who are in the so-called lower groups of work really belong in the higher groups, and so on upward

to the true leisure class which is under no economic obligation to do any kind of useful labor whatsoever.

Thus from a social standpoint, that clothing is most desirable that indicates that its user belongs to one of the higher occupation groups, or does not have to do any useful work at all. Millinery, such as is generally sold and worn by women, garments made of delicate material requiring careful use to prevent destruction, high silk hats and even derby hats are examples of clothing which tend to incapacitate their wearers from engaging in any form of labor except that which most closely approximates leisure activities. Even the coat and vest worn by men is unsuited for work and there are very few men, when called upon to do any active labor, who do not divest themselves of these garments and put on something more suitable for the purpose. The spotless white collars of the clericals are clear illustrations of the desire to prove by means of clothing that the wearer does not have to perform dirty manual labor. The creases in the trousers, the high polish of the shoes, the cane and the watch and chain are in their own way silent but effective testimonials of their wearer's social position in the scale referred to above. Even in the matter of eye-glasses there is the eloquent suggestion in the frailty of the frame, or in the complete lack of frame, as in the case of the pince-nez which proves that the user could not possibly engage in any active manual labor and wear these glasses. The high heel and tight shoes worn by women, the application of paint and powder, which would be disgusting and demoralizing if the person were engaged in manual labor of a degree causing profuse perspiration, are other effective illustrations of the same point.

That this principle is recognized by competent advertising and sales promotion men is evident from the fact that rarely ever does one see high-class advertising of clothing for either men or women illustrating the use of such clothing in connec-

tion with the performance of any useful or economic labor. Advertising illustrations for clothing as a rule depict the atmosphere of social life, sports and other leisure activities. It probably would be a mistake to attempt to sell apparel with any appeal of possible use in work. The aim is obviously to produce the illusion or effect that the prospective wearer will be able to prove his high social position by the clothing offered for sale.

Illustrations of conspicuous consumption may also be found in plentiful number in the field of fashion goods. In the present evolution of industrialism, much of the old order of aristocracy, built on ownership of land and holding of influential political offices, has given way to the influence of people in charge of large industrial and commercial enterprises. In the old aristocracy made up of landed gentry, it was entirely possible to develop and live up to a philosophy of life in which leisure should occupy the highest place, but in modern industrialism this is not so easy. Important work cannot be given up to assistants or other employees. The big business executive must stay on the job. So power, social and economic, has passed into the hands of business men who are active. Under modern conditions business men must continue in harness or lose their power and perhaps their businesses as well.

This movement began more than a century ago and has grown more and more important since the beginning of the twentieth century, and more particularly since the end of the World War. If at any future time it should be possible to standardize the processes of production and of distribution and work out standards of supervision of these processes, then it again may be possible for the owners to withdraw from their businesses to a life of comparative leisure as the landed estate owner formerly did. In the meantime the balance of power among all of the social classes seems to be held by active business men.

Conspicuous leisure is directly impossible for the big business man. Consequently, the leisure activities are usually left to be carried on by his wife and his sons and daughters. Conspicuous consumption serves the purpose much better. Magnificent and splendid balls, parties and dinners are the most common forms of impressing one's associates of the possession of power and wealth. Giving large sums of money to causes more or less worthy, endowments for institutions that bear the names of their donors, the purchase of expensive art works, particularly such works for which there is keen competition in the market, are other marked evidences of conspicuous consumption.

One of the influential urges in many cases causing the purchase of automobiles is this desire to prove one's social position, from the standpoint of ownership of wealth, by this act of conspicuous consumption. As Veblen so effectively shows, homes are built with the view of impressing the outside world. More attention is usually given to the front than to the back, and the reception rooms and guest rooms are more artistically and expensively furnished and decorated than those parts which serve the immediate family, and more particularly than those parts that serve for utility. Large, well-kept, close-clipped lawns are illustrations of conspicuous consumption. The cultivation of expensive flowers and shrubs, regardless of their intrinsic beauty, is another of the many forms of expression of this principle. The use of expensive material in the production of apparel and home furnishings, and of platinum instead of gold for jewelry, are additional illustrations.

In line with this principle that consumption must be expensive and wasteful, there have grown up a number of current maxims or adages which convey the same idea. For example, the expression "better grade" almost always means more expensive grade. "A cheap coat makes a cheap man" and "cheap and nasty" are common expressions. The struggle of people

who are not wealthy but who have been imbued with the honorific qualities of expensive goods, who try to keep up in competition with their neighbors, is pathetically illustrated by their claim that when they do purchase they buy only "the best."

One may construct a business rule from this analysis to the effect that a style, to succeed as a fashion, must have qualities that advertise either conspicuous leisure or conspicuous consumption for the user.

In such articles as garments, in order that there may be a chance of high success as a widely adopted fashion, they must look as if they were not intended for any useful labor and must carry the suggestion that their wearers belong to the higher vocational classes or to the leisure classes, and in the second place, they must look as if they cost a lot of money. In other words, as the slang expression goes, they must "look like a million dollars."

It is not enough, however, that these rules be applied crudely, for, while people with limited education and training in the art of consumption may be satisfied with gaudy displays of expense, with more social experience and education obtained in one way or another, groups of people who have acquired wealth and who seek to express themselves through the medium of conspicuous consumption, learn that the crude displays are not nearly so effective as displays contrived with some artistic effect. The cruder displays are but the first steps in the evolution of securing the most effective social results from conspicuous consumption. So, as the knowledge and experience of such individuals or groups increases in the art of consumption, the expression of expensiveness becomes ever more subtle. What was formerly applied in gilt and gaudy colors will tone down in order to secure effects which, however, are fully as expressive of expensiveness to those who know. The leadership of those who not only have wealth

and the power to use it, but at the same time know how to use it artistically and recognize its artistic use in others, is more willingly accepted than the leadership of any other group of people today.

In a society such as that in which we live at the present time, the possession of wealth is admittedly highly important for its influence in giving the individual position and power and means for self-expression. The possession of wealth and knowledge of how to use it is perhaps one of the most effective methods of overcoming feelings of inferiority described in a former chapter. The effective use of wealth as a means of impressing others calls for some artistic ability, so that instead of shouting to the world from the housetops about its possession, individuals must demonstrate it through the ownership and use of such things as fine wearing apparel, high-powered automobiles, fashionable houses and furnishings. All of these goods, which are of course strongly affected by fashion, are therefore to be used in such a way that they will give the impression of wealth.

Here then are two important rules regarding fashion. If wealth is as much a dominating factor as has been suggested here, then in the creation of new designs and in the promotion of new styles in development of fashion, the styles should go as far as possible in proving that the owner does not have to work for a living. Secondly, to become a successful fashion, a style must appear expensive, not crudely, but artistically if possible, but always expensive. The degree of artistry, of course, will depend upon the sophistication of the people who are to be impressed by the style. To put this in another way, commercial interests attempting to promote fashions are almost certain to fail if the goods or styles they offer do not suggest conspicuous leisure and conspicuous expensiveness.

In this chapter there have been discussed three classes of factors that influence the character and direction of fashion

movements, viz., dominating events, dominating ideals and dominating groups. Present fashions are affected by all three. Under dominating events there are still the after effects of the World War and the influence of the modern art movement. Under dominating ideals comes the very forceful influence of the current youth movement. Under dominating groups the most influential in our time are the people of wealth who also have acquired the subtle art of artistic spending. One may find a fairly complete explanation of fashion of the present time by reference to the effects of these three great factors.

CHAPTER V

RELATION OF ART TO FASHION

Fashion has been defined as the prevailing or accepted style and style as a characteristic, individualized form or expression of art. Thus fashion is but the prevailing style of art either in pure or applied forms. Whatever there may be in art that is subject to law or principle must be of utmost significance in the explanation as well as in the determination of fashion, its direction, character and quality. There follows a brief examination of the nature of art, its principles and their possible application to the interpretation of current fashions.

Definitions of Art and Beauty

Art is the skilful, systematic arrangement or adaptation of means for the purpose of attainment of beauty. This is a commonly accepted definition of art, but it doesn't help very much, for there are many different conceptions of the meaning of beauty. By reference to the Encyclopaedia Britannica one finds not less than sixteen definitions and there are no doubt others to be found in the regular textbooks on aesthetics. It is practically impossible to reconcile the differences expressed in these definitions. All that we may try to do here is to indicate some of the leading ideas as to what beauty is, and then set up a definition of our own to serve the purpose of this work.

First, there is a definition of beauty which states that it is an objective quality or group of qualities of an object which, when observed, tends to produce the sensation of beauty. The qualities themselves, according to this definition, constitute beauty. This may be termed the objective definition of beauty.

Similarly, there is the subjective definition of beauty, to the effect that it is the feeling or emotion of pleasure or enjoyment created by the perception of certain qualities or combination of qualities in an object. This is essentially a psychological explanation, for according to this definition, beauty is not a quality in things themselves—it exists solely in the mind which contemplates them.

There is another definition that is worth while considering, namely, that beauty is perfect adaptation to a practical purpose. This happens to be a definition offered by Benedetto Croce, one of the most famous living philosophers.

No attempt will be made to present a list of all of the definitions that one might be able to find of the term "beauty," but merely to illustrate the variations, note may be taken of such definitions as these: "Beauty is the revelation of truth," "Beauty is the revelation of the ideal," "Beauty is the universal," or "Beauty is the typical."

Some of these definitions are purely mystical. Others may have a practical significance, such as the last, in which beauty is defined as the typical. It may well be that in the evolution of a human being his sense of what is beautiful and harmonious grows out of that which is typical, average, or representative of the greatest number of people and is henceforth considered ideal and attractive. Variations from this type or average, therefore, are departures from the standards, and the farther these variations go, the more likely they are to be unpleasant.

In order that we may have a working definition to serve our purpose here, the following is offered. *Beauty is the feeling of pleasure or satisfaction derived from an objective quality, or group of qualities, that feeling being influenced by considerations, bent, or prejudice in the minds of observers.*

The foregoing definition is a combination, as it may be

seen, of two or three of the definitions referred to above. It presumes, first of all, that beauty is a psychological effect in the human mind and does not exist and cannot be experienced without the peculiar kind of psychological organization that a human being possesses.

It is also assumed in this definition that there are certain qualities in objects which more or less invariably tend to produce the feeling of pleasure or satisfaction and that these qualities are inherent in the object itself, although not producing the effect of pleasure unless there is a human mind at hand to perceive them.

The feeling of pleasure is not only the result of the objective perception of objective qualities from outside, but is to a great extent the result of internal preparation, due to training, education, previous experience and other environmental causes, and possibly, even hereditary tendencies which have built up a readiness or a preparation in the individual to see and to appreciate the objective qualities which produce the feeling of beauty. Because of the differences in this preparation of the individual for perceptions of beauty in external objects, it is certain that the sensation of beauty varies greatly in different people, and certainly there is a very great variation in the appreciation of beauty in passing from one object to another.

Principles of Art

Principles of art are statements or descriptions of objective qualities or combinations of qualities which always, or in at least most cases, produce the feelings of beauty. Principles of art may also include statements or descriptions of conditions of mind which are conducive to the development of feelings of pleasure or satisfaction when perceiving artistic objects.

That there are principles of art which when properly applied produce fairly universal aesthetic effects, may be granted by everyone. But inasmuch as the aesthetic or emotional effect is a personal reaction, much depends on personal or individual differences. In no other way may we account for the strong favor or prejudice shown by individuals toward certain colors, certain movements or rhythms, certain tastes or certain odors.

The majority of the people of western races, it appears, would probably vote for blue as their favorite color, others would vote for red, still others for green, still others for orange, and so on. If the principles of art were as fundamental as the principles in physics or chemistry, there would not be such a wide variation in individual differences.

Similarly, some people prefer to live in a room with a temperature of 85 or 90 degrees, while others prefer a temperature of 60 degrees. What is the reason for this variation? Physiologists may be able to ascribe such variations to differences in the physical conditions of the individual, but something more than this is necessary to make a satisfactory explanation.

In the realm of taste and odor, personal preference plays a highly important part. What is liked by some is disliked by others. The odor of lilacs, which has been the most popular selling floral perfume for years, is positively disagreeable to some people; others find musk, which seems to be so satisfying to great numbers of people all over the world, disgusting.

It should not be overlooked that there is a possibility that fashion plays an important part in the expression of public taste on such matters as color, taste and odor. Floral perfumes come in by degrees, reach their climax and then pass out in identically the same way as fashions do in millinery or any other field. But the fact remains that personal or individual difference does exist to a very high degree and that the appli-

cation of art can probably never be an exact science because of these radical individual differences.

Individual Reactions to Art

The state of mind of a person to whom artistic objects are shown has much to do with his artistic reactions. To a person who is angry probably there are no artistic qualities so beautiful as to appear anything more than ugly. The same condition may hold under conditions of other destructive emotions such as hate, envy and jealousy. On the other hand, a person in a cheerful mood is likely to have a much deeper appreciation of artistic quality, and is also likely to perceive quality as having artistic value, more promptly as well as oftener than other persons not in such an enjoyable mental frame. Thus it is commonly stated that to the person in love everything looks beautiful. The individual who has just finished a good dinner is in a much better frame of mind to recognize and appreciate artistic qualities than the one who is hungry.

So in practical life, efforts to secure artistic results must contend with conditions of mind of the people to whom such objects are shown.

The appropriateness of objects for their use, and the pressure of practical need, both weigh heavily in effecting our appreciation and emotional reaction from an artistic standpoint. Attractive surroundings and skilful service, as is well known, help to make a dinner more enjoyable. To the average person of average taste, the lack of such surroundings and service may result in disagreeable reaction. But probably the pressure of such a practical need as hunger resulting from abstinence for a period of two or three days would cause the individual to overlook surroundings and poor service and still get the keenest sensation of pleasure from a dinner.

As an example of the variation in personal reactions toward

so simple an aesthetic quality as a plain color, let us assume that a bright orange-colored card be placed before a group. One person, because of his education in the difficulties of the use of color, may appreciate this sample for its purity. Another person, because of his particular type of attitude, may like orange because it gives him the illusion of warmth. Still another may like the orange color because it suggests the pleasure of the taste of the food. A fourth may like the orange color because of its boldness. A fifth, let us say an Irishman, who has been brought up with strong feelings regarding the patriotic significance of the colors, orange and green, may dislike the sight of orange.

Obviously, back of our reactions toward artistic objects, are the education, training, upbringing and experience of the individual. Undoubtedly, what makes up our appreciation of art is a complicated state of mind. Under the influence of an environment poor in artistic resources an appreciation and even a love of drab and dreary colors may develop. On the other hand, it is commonplace that many people whose entire lives have been lived in surroundings of rare beauty are relatively senseless to their artistic qualities.

There does not seem to be much in the field of art that can be set down with the absolute authority of scientific law. There are, however, many points in art in which there is fairly common agreement. In the following paragraphs there are presented generalizations on conditions that produce aesthetic emotions in many if not most people.

Harmony of Sounds

In the realm of tone and sound, it is well known that certain combinations of notes produce *harmonious sounds* which appeal favorably to most people, and on the basis of this principle all musical art has been developed.

Aesthetics and the Sense of Touch

Certain qualities in material objects, such as smoothness, warmth, coolness, hardness or softness are pleasurable to the sense of touch. This fact enters into the desirability for use of such goods as fabrics, furniture, and so on. The pleasure sensations from the sense of touch are probably more important in our daily lives than most people think.

Combinations of Light and Shade

It seems certain that combinations of various grades of light or of *light and shade* have a universal appeal, the perception of which almost invariably produces feelings of pleasure. Most living organisms turn toward the light and are attracted by it, but the presence of too much light in turn causes fatigue and even pain, so that certain organisms must also turn to shade alternating with light. It may be presumed that combinations can be made of light and shade which create a widely favorable appeal.

Color

It is definitely certain that simple, single colors have deep effects on the emotions and mental activity of people. The reason may be physiological, inherent, or the result of training, social experience or tradition. Whatever the cause, the fact that emotional effects result from colors remains.

Animals and insects are able to recognize colors and probably experience emotional responses to different colors. Primitive people of lower races have color preferences and these colors, for the most part, are the same or similar. All humankind seems to enjoy reds, blues and greens. There are undoubtedly fashions in color preference among all people, but

beyond the influence of fashion there seem to be fundamental likes and dislikes for specific hues.

Color lends a high attention value to other qualities. Biologically, color is an aid to finding and securing food as well as in sexual selection and mating. Color plays an important part in nature as signals of danger.

Color Symbolism

There is a popular symbolism of color which may be based on something more than tradition, such as red signifying war, danger, blood, fire, love and cheerful warmth; yellow meaning wisdom, wealth, gold, beneficence, and, coincidentally, among western nations, cowardliness; green meaning envy, hope, springtime, renewal of life, and immortality; blue meaning truth, constancy, serenity and coolness on the one hand, and discouragement on the other. Purple signifies dignified, pompous royalty, loyalty and martyrdom. White stands for happiness, virtue and faith; and black means despair, sin, evil, penitence, reserve and dignity.

Colors That Are Warm and Cool, That Advance and Recede

A color change in an object also changes its appearance in other respects. A change in color of apparel worn by an individual produces a change in appearance of skin, eyes and hair and in size and contour of the figure.

The warm colors, the reds, yellows and oranges, produce the effect of advancing, enlarging and making the person wearing them look heavier. Walls decorated in warm colors look nearer, hence make the room appear smaller.

Cool colors, the blues, blue-greens, and greens are receding and cooler. The wearer of these colors looks smaller, lighter,

more distant as well as cooler. Used on the walls of a room, these colors produce the effect of being farther away, hence create the illusion that the room is larger.

White produces the effect of advancing and increasing size, but at the same time of coolness and lightness. White garments make the wearer look larger, but at the same time lighter and cooler. Black produces the effect of smaller size but heavier weight. Grays have the effect of softening the advancing quality of white and the receding quality of black.

Effects of Color on Color

Color always has its specific effects when combined with other colors. For example, every hue tends to tinge every other nearby hue with its complement.

Red throws a greenish cast on any adjacent colors. It makes white look greenish, black somewhat bluish, gray will seem cooler. Red makes blue-violet appear more blue and makes green-yellow look more green.

Yellow casts a bluish note into other adjacent colors. It causes white to appear bluish. One explanation for the blueness of the sky is the effect of the intense yellow of the sunlight. It causes black to look bluish, and gray more cold. It gives red a violet tinge and makes violet look blue-violet.

Green throws violet into other nearby colors. It makes white look pale violet, gives black a purplish cast, and gray a violet shade. Green makes orange look more red, and red look more violet.

Blue causes other colors to look yellowish. Yellow itself becomes more yellow when near blue. White becomes creamy. Black turns slightly brownish and gray takes on a warm tinge.

The cool colors give favorable impressions when matched with white but generally not with black. The warm colors go

best with black but also with white. Cool colors can, however, be matched up well with grays of proper value.

The color effects vary also according to the light under which they are observed whether natural, or artificial and, if artificial, according to the color character of the light.

Finally, color effects vary according to the texture and character of the surface from which the color emanates. The same color looks quite different and produces a different emotional effect from each of such materials as velvet, satin, crepe, leather or wood.

Color Harmonies

The textbooks on color distinguish several regular methods of combining colors to produce pleasurable effects as follows:

1. Light and dark values of the same hue, known as monochromatic color combinations, much used in women's apparel and called ombré and composé effects.

2. Bright and dull shades of the same hue, as a soft gray with a lustrous gray, a shiny black with a dull black, or a bright blue on a dull blue, and so on.

3. Or color with a neutral, such as red with white, gray or black.

4. Related or analogous colors. Combinations of colors that are related by the possession of a common primary such as blue-green and green-yellow may produce very harmonious effects, since yellow is a part of both colors combined.

5. Complementary colors are uniformly harmonious when in the right combination, which usually means a large amount of one and a slight amount of the other. The complementary color combinations are described in every textbook on art.

6. Split complementary colors, a combination of two analogous colors such as blue and green, having one common primary color, blue-green, goes well with its complement, red.

7. Double complementary colors made up of two sets of analo-

gous colors whose basic primaries are complements of each other, go well together, thus red and red-purple with blue-green and green.

8. Triads may also be harmonized, such as red, blue and yellow, or orange, green and purple.

9. Finally, there is a school of artists who claim that any color can be combined with any other color if each is used in the proper proportion and handled with proper technique, such as glazing, neutralizing, altering the texture, and so on.

10. Harmony of colors depends largely upon the proper proportioning of areas, of intensities and values of the colors used and relationships to the neutral colors—white, gray and black.

The principles of artistic effects of color on human emotions has been worked out in great detail—in fact, in mathematical detail—by Munsell and Taylor in their respective color systems. Both have many adherents among artists and writers on art subjects.

Harmony of Lines, Surfaces and Masses

Lines, surfaces and masses, when presented or combined in certain ways and in certain relationships, tend to produce pleasurable effects on most people. For example, curving or flowing lines are generally more pleasing than straight lines, and in surfaces the classic example of the most attractive and pleasing shape is the oblong whose width and length are to each other as the proportion of 3 to 5. The general attractive appeal of this shape or surface was first expressed by the Greeks, and because of its artistic effect has been called the "Golden Section." Similarly, it may be noted that the division of line, or surfaces or masses into parts that correspond to each other, as 3 to 5, also tend to produce the same favorable effect as the "Golden Section" in plain surfaces.

Books of art or aesthetics generally summarize the relations

of lines, surfaces and masses to each other for the purpose of securing artistic effects under the so-called principles of balance, rhythm, harmony and unity.

By *balance* is meant the arrangement of the parts or elements of a picture, a garment, or of the furnishings of a room with reference to one another so as to appear in harmonious relationship. By *rhythm* in art is meant a regular or measured repetition of some feature such as a line, a surface or a mass. Rhythm produces the effect of motion, accent or recurring stress. By *harmony* is meant agreement or similarity in the materials used and in the objects or purposes to be served. By *unity* is meant a subordination of all parts to some one general effect.

The applications of light and shades, of color and color combinations, and of music of sounds, are also subject to the principles of balance, rhythm, harmony and unity. A painting combines color and line in balanced and harmonious proportions. Music combines rhythm and harmony of sound in balanced proportions. A beautiful style in furniture or garment illustrates good balance of its parts, harmony, unity, and in the detail of its design may even suggest rhythm.

Art Used to Create Illusion

One of the major purposes of art as at present conceived is to make the best effect possible from the means at hand both from the standpoint of fashion and good taste. Apparel art is intended to make the wearer look as pleasing as possible. It may be interesting to take note of some of the methods used by designers to create changes in appearance with this end in view. Lines, masses and colors are skilfully manipulated to create illusion or to make impressions which, without art, would be completely lost.

Perhaps the most commonly used are the line illusions. By

clever use of line, short persons are made to look tall, tall persons to look shorter, and stout persons slimmer. Individual defects are minimized and good points strengthened by the same method. Many of these illusions are described in books on design or psychology.

We are all familiar with the illustrations of squares divided by widely spaced horizontal and vertical lines and, although we know better, find it hard not to say that the one divided by horizontal lines is broader than the other. Conversely, the vertical lines add to the apparent height, and this common principle often is made use of by dress designers in order to make a short person look tall or the stout person more slender.

Artistic application of this principle by the dress designer may take various forms. The use of vertically striped material, long, unbroken panels, vertical tucks or pleats or vertical arrangement of trimmings, are all made use of in garment designing.

Use of end lines may also be made to add to apparent height. These practically applied take the form of hanging side panels or draperies, arrangement of the hair high on the head, wearing of a shawl or wrap with the point extending well below the hem line, the use of a long V neck and corresponding arrangement of trimmings.

Vertical distances are perceived as greater than equal horizontal distances. Thus a hat with rather high crown and narrow brim would add greatly to apparent height. As a line appears longer than an equal distance marked off by points, a straight pleat with folded edge accents length of figure more than the placing of rows of buttons or other disconnected motifs. Diagonal lines vary in effect depending upon their relation to vertical or horizontal. Most of the principles applied to making a short person look tall also help when trying to make a stout person appear thinner, as in both cases vertical lines receive the emphasis.

Division into parts tends to shorten a line. Thus a beltless frock worn with stockings and shoes of matching color forms an unbroken color line which would make the wearer appear taller than would a line which has been broken by contrasting belt, stockings and shoes.

The horizontal line, when properly used, is the friend of the too tall person or of the thin person who wishes to appear stouter. Horizontal lines add to apparent width or take away from apparent height, so that the tall person may wear horizontally striped materials, tucks, ruffles and bands horizontally arranged, of contrasting colors. End lines may also be used. For example, hats with low crowns and drooping brims, skirts with panels or drapes shorter than the regular hem line, and lower arrangement of the hair, are all useful to the tall person. Division into two equal parts also tends to shorten a line, so that the tall slender person may wear a prominent belt, contrasting colors in blouse and skirt, and contrasting colors in shoes and stockings. Even the shoes themselves may have two colors so arranged that the appearance of the foot will be shortened.

Mass illusions also play their part in costume designing. The success of any design is so largely dependent upon the proportions of the costume that one should know that, when one of two equal surfaces lies directly over the other, the higher appears larger. A hat brim which is exactly the width of the wearer's shoulder would have a tendency to make her appear top heavy, as would also the heavily massed hair which was common some years ago. With the popularity of the bobbed hair and the smooth sleek hair arrangement for those having long hair, this has practically disappeared. In the design of a dress itself, a belt dividing the figure exactly in half from the shoulder line to the bottom of the skirt would have the effect of making the top part overbalance the skirt. When panels or similar trimmings are used, it is necessary to

make them slightly wider at the bottom, otherwise the top would appear wider and so cause a similar overbalance in dress.

Mass illusions can be made use of both by the very large person and the smaller person. A divided space seems greater than one which is not divided. For the small person, this means that she may successfully use patterns in color contrast, while a large person would appear smaller in a plain material than in a costume broken into masses of prominent colors.

Equal areas surrounded by markedly unequal areas would appear of different size by contrast. This means that a large-patterned material would make a small person look still smaller, while a small patterned material or fine delicate jewelry on a large woman would make her look still larger by contrast. Areas within circular boundaries appear smaller than equally extensive areas having any other form of boundary. For this reason, soft drapey materials are, as a rule, more becoming to a large person than are the stiffer materials which make angular lines. This leaves the taffetas, organdies, moires and other such crisp materials for the use of the smaller person. Large persons should also avoid brilliant or very light colors, as an area of black or of dark color looks smaller than an equal area of a brilliant or light color. A small person, on the other hand, may wear brilliant colors if they do not conflict too much with her personality.

Oblique lines have a distracting influence which changes the appearance of the other lines of the figure. These lines may be carefully studied and used by anyone who has a marked irregularity in the figure, such as disproportionately large hips in relation to the shoulders. The present tendency to modernistic designs in apparel fashions makes very skilful use of varied forms of the diagonal line.

The angular person has a hard time looking well and should choose her costume with care, such as is devoted by her larger sister to the solution of her particular problem. The

angular person should avoid severe unbroken lines, and make effective use of soft, full draperies and feminine styles with soft laces, and fichus, materials that stand out from the figure, and long-haired furs.

The older person wishing to appear young has a wide range of color from which to choose, but she must be very skilful in her choice, avoiding brilliant colors and those of high luster, or any fabrics which would emphasize any appearance of age. Much more flattering are the soft grayed colors in the soft lusterless materials. The brimless skull cap should be passed by for a hat with sufficient brim to shade the eye and to minimize any effect of wrinkles. Using the principle that any color appears more brilliant in the presence of its complement, a soft gray-green would emphasize any tendency to pinkness in the skin and at the same time lessen any tendency to sallowness. The elderly person should not forget to maintain a feeling of dignity in line and color throughout her costume.

The possibilities of obtaining effects by the proper use of line, mass and color are literally limitless, and only some of the most usual and obvious examples have been touched upon here.

Meaning of Art to Fashion

In conclusion, all perception yields emotional states that are either pleasurable or unpleasant. This is one of the most fundamental facts of psychology. The object of art is to arrange material so as to produce desired emotional results. Art is appeal to the emotions. It is the language of emotions. All art, therefore, whether drama, music, literature, painting, sculpture, dress, interior decoration, or what-not, is a systematic arrangement or adaptation of some sort of means to produce a desired emotional condition.

Not all art aims at pleasure or even emotions of satisfaction. In drama, some of the highest forms are tragedies which may

scarcely be said to aim at pleasure, but produce their artistic effect by stirring up deep emotions of sorrow. In general, drama serves to arouse emotions of curiosity, suspense, thrill and either of humor as in comedy, or of sorrow, disappointment or grief as in tragedy.

Other arts—music, painting and sculpture—similarly aim at appeals to emotion. Any one of these arts may tell its story, but the story is not the ultimate purpose of the work of art. The story is the medium through which the art conveys its appeal to some fundamental human emotion.

Similarly, literature differs from written work on practical subjects in its appeal to emotion. A practical manual on the operation of an automobile may have some slight emotional effect in the satisfaction of its user who follows instructions set down and therefrom operates his machine successfully, but the primary object is not the thrill of emotion and it is, therefore, not literature which aims to satisfy human needs for emotion.

Whether we will or not, and perhaps in spite of us, impressions that we give by our manners, our dress, our contacts with other people, create emotional conditions either pleasant or unpleasant, either satisfactory or unsatisfactory to those associates, and the art of dress, as is the case with the other arts, must of necessity take cognizance of the effect on other people. Where good art prevails, fashion may move much farther and effect many more people as well as hold its own for a longer time than when the art is bad. On the other hand, the application of poor art in an accepted fashion will probably meet with opposition and is almost sure to result in a more rapid decline of the fashion. Every article of outer apparel, as well as every article of home furnishings and consumer use, produces its emotional effect whether it be good or bad. The artistic side of merchandise is as much a quality

of that merchandise as its durability or application to use. All of our satisfactions are essentially psychological, that is, all are finally weighed and judged in the mind of the person who experiences them. Obviously the artistic effects are highly important in the final use of any article.

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF CUSTOM ON CONSUMPTION

The term "custom" designates the long-fixed or established actions, manners, usages or practices of a group of people. Customs differ from fashions in that their origin is in the past. Customs are transmitted from generation to generation by precept and example. In fashions, people imitate their contemporaries, in custom they imitate their elders, their parents or past generations. Fashion represents the ascendency of the present over the past; custom represents the ascendency of the past over the present.

Individuals have habits, societies have customs. Custom is social habit. When a habit is set in an individual there is much difficulty, opposition and resistance to change. Similarly, whenever a custom has been adopted by society or a group of people there is also opposition and resistance to change. There is a natural tendency to look upon customs with feelings of respect, admiration and veneration. The adoption of fashion means the breakup of custom.

All human activities may be classified under three headings, namely, custom, fashion and individual initiative. The first two of these classes of activities involve imitation in one case of the past, and in the other of contemporaries. These two forms of activities make up most of our lives. There remains a minimum of original action, the result of individual initiative, expression and taste. With most people the proportion of such individual activity is, indeed, very small. It is difficult to point out any specific thought or activity that is wholly original and non-imitative, even the variations of past or contemporary models resulting from individual initiative do not

go far from their original sources. The variations themselves are as much due to custom as to individual initiative.

There is a constant conflict between custom and fashion. Each maintains its strongholds in certain fields of thought and activity. Between their traditional strongholds lies a large area in which there is continuous conflict, parts of which are sometimes dominated by custom and others by fashion. In some periods of time, custom extends its realm and power over into the territory usually occupied by fashion. At other periods, fashion conquers and subdues enormous fields of activity usually controlled by custom. So the conflict between custom and fashion swings at one time in favor of the one and at other times in favor of the other. In eras of custom control, conservatism is the rule. In eras of fashion imitation, the influence of progress and change are rampant.

Fields in Which Custom Rules

As stated above, there are some fields in which custom is generally predominant; there are many others in which it is always present to some extent. The pervasiveness of custom is one of the striking facts presented to the student of this subject.

Custom is a powerful factor in *language*. Methods of spelling and rules of grammar are dependent upon custom. Forms of expression owe their widespread acceptance and use to custom. While fashion disputes and contests the sway of custom in the field of language, modifying details from time to time, introducing new forms of spelling, upsetting established rules of grammar, suggesting slang expressions for general use, modifying the dialect and inflections of speech, custom still continues to dominate. The victories of fashion in the field of language are always insignificant and make but slight inroads into the territory securely held by custom.

Another field in which custom is even stronger than fashion, is in *religion.* All forms of worship, of ritual and religious practice are deeply ingrained in custom. Creed, confessional, mass, the order of religious service, even the days in the week and the hours of the day when such services are held, are matters of custom. The clothing worn by churchmen, their flowing robes, cassocks, surplices, chasubles, stoles, maniples and albs, all have an ancient origin and symbolic meaning and are fixed strongly in present-day practice by the power of custom.

Government, of necessity, is entrenched deeply in custom. Probably government would be impossible without custom. Students of anthropology claim that the earliest forms of government were based on custom. The authority of the ruling head on the one hand and the rights of citizens on the other are sanctioned by custom. The methods of control, the offenses that are punishable, the types of punishment, the methods of taxation, the administrative procedure, the government systems, records and formalities, are monuments to custom. Military organizations, discipline, the recognition of rank and even the uniforms are ruled by custom. In war, the development of modern mechanisms of destruction sometimes disastrously upset customary and traditionary practices in the army making change necessary.

Legal procedure and ceremony are perfect illustrations of the rule of custom. The precedents followed by and the procedure of the court, its rules of order, its use of Latin terms, of seals, of the formalities of opening and closing, the dress of the judges, the interminable red tape and worship of the past are convincing evidence of the strength of custom.

Education is a field in which the battle between custom and innovation occasionally rages with hot flame, but custom generally holds complete sway. Most of the required subjects of study in the public school curricula, both elementary and

secondary, are traditional and customary. It would be difficult to justify most of the education pursued by the youth of the country on any but a customary basis. Schoolroom methods are for the most part an inheritance from past ages. The granting of degrees, diplomas, honors, prizes, and so forth is customary. The ceremonials of graduation, gowns, hoods, the procession of graduates, the assembling of the faculty in ceremonial robes, are all custom. The pranks of the school boys, hazing, fagging the under classmen, for the most part contain not a whit of innovation; they are the simple imitations of models steeped in antiquity.

With some slight and gradual modification in rules, *popular amusements,* including sports and games, are nearly all hundreds of years old. From time to time some novelty is introduced and occasionally a fashion gets over, accompanied by the usual scandal such as one finds in connection with the introduction of jazz, Charleston and blackbottom dancing. Even the types of clothing and uniforms worn by players in the sports are very little subject to fashion but are largely ruled by custom. The golfer's suit, the tennis player's garments, the dress of the clown at the circus, all go back a long time.

Ceremonial occasions of all kinds tend to follow custom almost entirely. In the relations between the sexes the ceremonials of engagements, engagement rings, the use of a diamond, the announcement, the showers, hope chests, exchanges of gifts, are all old customs. All of the ceremonies relating to marriage are bound by custom. The wedding ring to be worn on the fourth finger of the left hand, the veil, the orange blossoms, the bridesmaids, the flower girls, the best man, the handful of rice, the old shoes, the marriage feast, the wedding cake, the white costume of the bride, are all fixed by custom. Such variations as the omission of the word "obey" from the church marriage service, and the proposal of companionate

marriage, both have been received with great explosions of feeling because of the departure from the standard or customary forms.

Funerals are carried on under the rule of custom. Mourning raiment, the drab solemnity, the pompous hearse, the funeral oration, the formal procession, the rites at the grave, the period of mourning following the death of a relative, the tombstones and other methods of marking graves, are all prescribed under the complete dominion of custom.

In the ceremonials attending the *installation of officers in secret societies,* one may see the operation of custom undefiled by modern innovation or fashion. The opening of Parliament brings into observance customs which go back centuries. The coronation of kings and queens and the observance of military honors are likewise facts of customs.

The *celebration of holidays* is marked by custom rather than by fashion. Birthday gifts, wedding anniversaries, the light-hearted childish celebration of the New Year, the observance of St. Valentine's Day, the ceremonies of Easter and Passover, the pranks of April 1st and May-day celebrations, the observance of Hallowe'en, all are surrounded completely by custom. People generally look with disfavor on the introduction of fashions or innovations in their observance of holidays. The Christmas tree or Yule log, the hanging up of stockings, the exchange of gifts, the singing of carols, Santa Claus, decorating with holly and mistletoe in connection with Christmas celebrations, are indeed among our most prized as well as our oldest customs.

Then there are growing out of ancient *superstitions* the multitudes of practices that are more or less meaninglessly observed even at the present time by the masses of the people, such as the belief in the luck of the horseshoe, in good fortune that follows the finding of a four-leaf clover, in the ill-omen of having a black cat cross one's pathway when leaving home,

the bad luck associated with the number 13 as well as Friday, the ill forebodings of a broken mirror, the superstitions regarding salt and knocking on wood. These are merely suggestive of a great number of practices in the common life of the people that grow completely out of custom.

The *manners* of society, the formalities of social relations of people, are very largely the expression of custom. A book of etiquette is the textbook of custom. It presents the information as to the proper forms of greeting, methods of introduction, and so on. Fashions are introduced with great difficulty in opposition to custom in the field of manners. Even in the adoption of such a useful implement as the table fork, it required literally more than one hundred years for anything like general acceptance. New inventions which affect manners are taken up as a rule with extreme slowness, even by people who pride themselves on their progressive and open-minded attitude toward improvements.

In the *names of the people* one finds the rule of custom. To have names at all, while no doubt very useful, is indeed a custom. That there should be surnames and given names is clearly custom. That the surnames should be based on descent from the father's side is also a custom, as is the practice of changing the family name of the wife when she marries. The Lucy Stone League represents an effort to establish a new fashion in opposition to the custom of changing the name of the wife when she marries and, although there is no reason for such change of name other than custom and although this movement has been agitated for many years, it is still but a very insignificant fashion followed by only a very few people. Whether it will ever gain any headway against the established custom remains for future generations to see.

The origin of names is an interesting study in custom. Some come from occupations such as Smith, Taylor, Porter, Cook, Baker, Farmer, Grocer, and so on. Others take their

names from the places from which they come. Still others have names that are merely designations of relationship such as Johnson meaning the son of John, Peterson, Thompson, Olson, Hansen, and so on. Among the Irish this relationship is expressed by O' as in O'Brien, in the Scotch by the prefix Mac as in MacNeil, by the Norman French by the prefix Fitz as in Fitzhugh.

In *apparel,* which one usually considers as preeminently the field of fashion, a little study will indicate that the power of custom is highly important here as well. To begin with, the wearing of clothes at all is largely custom, a custom, by the way, that has not been generally adopted by all races and all people. The differences in clothing for the sexes is almost entirely a matter of custom, and the fact that women's clothing during the last hundred years has been very much more elaborate than clothing for men is also a matter of custom.

Reference has already been made to the custom character of *ceremonial dress* of church and legal dignitaries, as well as of the garments used at weddings, funerals, openings of Parliament, and so on. Ceremonial dress is almost always customary in character. The dress used at formal social functions is always more fixed by custom than is the dress used on informal occasions as in business, sports and elsewhere.

The garments worn by servants or required by rule or legislation such as waiters, nurses, firemen, policemen, and so on, are fixed by custom rather than fashion.

All apparel both for men and women, regardless of its high fashion character and frequency of change, retains much of the touch of custom and of rudiments of former usages. It will be of interest to take note of what some of these *vestiges or survivals* in ordinary apparel are.

In the use of buttons, modern apparel is a record of the influence of custom. For example, buttons are placed on the right side on men's clothing and on the left side on women's

clothing. This differentiation is an old one and has been explained as follows:

When a man's right hand was occupied with implements or weapons, buttons on the right side could best be adjusted with the left hand, thus leaving the right hand free to continue its work or fight, as the case might be. In women's clothing the buttons are arranged on the left side for the reason that women, from time immemorial, have usually carried their babies on their left arms while working with their right hands. This custom made it more convenient to use the right hand rather than the left when buttoning or unbuttoning their garments.

Similarly, buttons on wrist and skirt bands are placed on the thumb side for men and on the little finger side for women.

The buttons at the back of frock coats and overcoats are vestiges of customary uses centuries ago. These buttons at one time served the purpose of making it possible to open the coat at the back for horseback riding. The buttons at the back also served as fastenings for the lower corners of the coat when it was decided to turn them back out of the way. The buttons at the coat sleeves and the imitation buttonholes are vestiges of custom coming down from the time when outer garments were actually opened at the sleeve, making the button and buttonhole a necessary means of opening and closing.

The swallowtail coat, now a part of men's formal dress, represents what is left of an old-time coat on which the lower edges were formerly buttoned back but from which the edges have now been completely cut away.

It used to be the custom to wear longer coat sleeves than are now worn and to turn these sleeves back whenever there was work to be done, and the turn back cuff is still simulated in both men's and women's garments by rows of stitching and braids.

The notch in the lapel of men's coats still stands as a

reminder of the time when it was a necessary part of the construction, in order that the coat might be buttoned closely across the chest and around the throat and so furnish additional protection from the winter cold.

The facings that appear on dress coats were originally lining and have now become a part of the regulation apparel. The white shirt-fronts and the linen collar and cuffs are likewise fixed traditions in men's apparel which are helped along by the human desire to prove one's superiority by wearing apparel which obviously could not be worn by one doing manual or dirty labor.

Every hat bears the mark of custom. Hat-wearing itself is a custom. Students of style, at least some of them, have believed that the design of hats originated in observance of forms of architecture. However that may be, there are vestiges of former hat construction that custom has carried down to the present time. The hat band and bow found on all men's hats and many women's hats indicate that hats were formerly made from a flat piece of fabric tied together by the band so that it would stay on the head. From the days when men wore long flowing plumes, all plumes, cockades and bows have been placed on the left side of their hats rather than on the right. The use of weapons seems to have been a matter of frequent necessity, so long plumes were placed on the left side so as not to interfere with the sword or other weapon that the gentlemen might wield.

Inside of a hat at the back part of the band there will be noticed a little bow sometimes accompanied by a little lacing. This survives from the time when hats were made in but one size and were adjusted to fit the individual wearer's head by loosening or tightening the lacing as might be preferred.

In modern footwear, decoration by means of stitching over the toe or across the vamp of the shoe are representative of what was formerly open-work in shoes. Clocks in hosiery

have come down from the time when hosiery was made from flat woven fabric and cut and sewed to fit the leg. The seams were originally placed on the sides instead of at the back. These seams were often embroidered or stitched in some fancy way with the resulting clocks.

Trousers, particularly dress trousers, with stripes on the sides owe this embellishment to the time when they were worn so tight that they had to be buttoned up and down. The stripes were originally strips of fabric covering the buttons and buttonholes. The buttons have long since disappeared but the stripes remain.

The points or stitchings on the backs of gloves likewise go back to times when the sizes of gloves were adjusted by lacing at these points.

If time permitted, one could undoubtedly discover many additional instances in which relics of custom still continue in articles of present use, not only in apparel but in home furnishings, furniture, architecture and many other lines.

Conditions Favoring Custom

From the foregoing illustrations of custom as affecting present-day consumption, it may now be possible to draw some conclusions as to the reason for the strength of custom, the factors that result in its breakup and other such practical considerations as will be helpful to people engaged in the production, distribution and consumption of goods affected thereby.

All students of human nature recognize as a matter of common observation, that for the most part there is a human *dislike for change*. Fashion and innovation are remarkable exceptions. There is really very little enthusiasm for new things or for changes anywhere or at any time. In fact, most people dread changes. Many despise any attempts at new

ideas. They become accustomed to the conditions under which they live, the implements that they use, the procedure of getting along with other people, and change makes readjustment necessary, increases embarrassment and causes additional labor and thought. No wonder most people are quite willing to let well enough alone.

Perhaps this dislike for change is due to *laziness* or a *lack of initiative*. More likely it is due to the *difficulty of devising something new,* of meeting the consequent required adjustments. There is much to be said for the *economy of maintaining that which is customary.* Unless there is a very good reason for the adoption of the new, there is every reason from a social standpoint for sticking to that which is old and customary.

Custom is always supported by the *formal institutions of society.* Religious organizations lean upon custom. When innovation creeps in and minor fashions sprout, there is a growing tendency for a Puritan element to arise to the defence of tradition. This always means an attempted return to the old customs and old manners of thinking.

As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, *government and law* depend for their rule upon custom. Probably chaos would reign if custom were destroyed. Government always has its difficulties in establishing authority over its people, but these difficulties are minimized when its acts are closely in accord with established customs, for custom is the first condition of law and order. It is indeed the key to order. It is very difficult or perhaps impossible to establish by law anything which has not become customary.

Established social classes, such as of nobility, of professions or of wealth, are almost always strongly in favor of supporting custom, for out of the customs of their time they have derived their position and any change might endanger their status for the future.

Physical isolation is one of the most effective schemes of maintaining customs. The oldest customs are found among people who are cut off from contact with the rest of the world by mountain ranges, by living on remote islands, or by being for other reasons off the beaten track.

Country people, because more isolated, are as a rule more dominated by custom than are the city people. However, there are *city groups* such as ghettos, little Italies and little Polands in which these people are so isolated or cut off from the rest of the city that their special customs are preserved for considerable periods. Physical isolation is, of course, not the only type of isolation. There may be *linguistic isolation,* or *social isolation,* or strong *racial feeling* which isolate groups. Wherever there is isolation and regardless of its cause, there one finds the support of custom.

Private home life is more effectively ruled by custom than public or semi-public life. Custom rules much more strongly in the practices of the kitchen than in the living room. The family automobile and clothing that are generally observed by people out in the world are much less subject to custom and much more subject to fashion than are the food and the private manners of the family in their individual home.

"Old-fashioned strawberry shortcake," "New England boiled dinner," "Chicken a la Maryland," "English plum pudding," "French rolls," "Boston baked beans," "Scotch scones," "Swedish lute fisk," "German pancakes," "Virginia waffles" and "Bread like Mother used to make" suggest the strength of habit and custom in the field of gastronomy. A good, old-fashioned southern dinner suggests delicious emotions to the hungry, for custom rules strongly in food consumption, but the same adjective, old-fashioned, if applied, would promptly and positively kill all desire for apparel, millinery, automobiles or furniture. Here fashion rules.

Family life itself, when a dominant influence, tends to sup-

port custom much more than does a semi-public life. For example, closely knit families, in which there is a strong family feeling and where a considerable portion of the individuals' lives are spent within family activities, are much more likely to favor custom than individuals, even though members of families, who spend much if not most of their time in occupations that take them outside of the home, and who dine in restaurants and hotels, and spend much time in travel, and so on.

Illiteracy is another factor that favors custom as against fashion, for the inability to read shuts off one of the most effective means of learning, of acquiring new ideas and of experiencing the feeling of improvement that may come from the adoption of newer things.

Conditions Opposing Custom and Favoring Fashion

The conditions opposing custom, the factors which tend to break up its power, include general *public education, easy interchange of ideas* through perfected means of communication, *travel,* the maintenance of conditions of *free discussion, free speech, free press and tolerance,* and the cult or *philosophy of progress* or advancement which result in both individuals and groups going out of their way to adopt new ideas to prove to themselves and to others their faith in change as a means to progress.

Education works both against and in favor of custom. The presumption is that scientific education, training young people to ask why, and challenging all statements which do not offer logical answers to the questions tend to break up custom. There is no doubt that scientific education applied to production and distribution has resulted in the breakup of much economic custom. The application of science to business is in itself the breakup of old customs and commercial processes.

However, there is another side to education in its relation to custom. Probably people who have benefited from education are as much ruled by custom, particularly in their private lives and in their activities as consumers, as those who have not so benefited. The college campus believed by many to be so free of the trammels of the past is on the whole the epitome of tradition and custom. As has already been pointed out, the courses of study are largely fixed by custom, the educational methods in most cases deserve the honors accruing to extreme old age, the practices of the students in their relations toward their professors and toward each other, the hazing, the freshman cap, the academic robe, the types of sports, even the college architecture and atmosphere, are dominated by custom.

War is a great destroyer of custom. When the very existence of a nation is at stake, customs of work, of living and of fighting which are not conducive to the most effective results in fighting the enemy have to be thrown overboard. Military uniforms that are scarcely ever changed during times of peace give way in colors and materials to more effective and protective apparel. Military practices change to suit modern needs.

Similarly, in the case of any great disaster people must give up their customs. When foods such as have formed their customary diet are no longer available at any cost, people take what they can get. In the same way customary clothing gives way to whatever may be available. So the refugees from fires and floods, from earthquakes and other disasters, find themselves changing their customs in order to survive.

Engineering progress and the *arts of business,* however, are responsible for more of the changes in custom than any other single factor that might be named. The Industrial Revolution, beginning in the latter part of the eighteenth century and extending through the entire nineteenth century, brought with it changes in methods of production due to the

introduction of power and the inventions of many labor-saving devices. The production of great quantities of goods, necessities of life at much lower costs, thereby reducing the cost of living, have been outstanding factors in the changes in customary forms of living.

As an illustration of how these changes take place, the invention of the internal combustion engine made possible the modern automobile, and this in turn has produced a thousand auxiliary changes, not only in production but also in consumption, in methods of living, in the development of suburbs and country districts, in changes in country life, in the development of travel and opportunities for observation of how other people live, together with changes in the more intimate life in the home. We do not yet see the end of the adjustments being made in living conditions resulting from the automobile.

Custom does not have much of a chance for survival under the cold, questioning why of the business manager who is faced by keen competition and must find ways of producing or distributing more cheaply in order that his business may continue to survive. *Competition* is commonly a most active enemy of custom.

Eras of Fashion and of Custom

The history of civilization is marked by several periods of upheaval during which the influence of fashion soared high above the power of custom. For example, in modern times, beginning with the French Revolution in 1789, it was decided that nearly everything that was customary was wrong and attempts were made to break with the past completely. These efforts were rather unsuccessful as viewed in the clear perspective of history, but the mental attitude of the time favored fashion.

Similarly, Germany prior to the World War sought very ambitiously, through her industrial and business machine, to extend her power throughout the world. Her attempts met with considerable success. Along with the changes that were made in her industrial organization in order to compete successfully with the other nations of the world, there also occurred changes in her social organization which may be credited to innovating tendencies and in opposition to what had been customary. So at the same time that new business ideas boomed, there grew up social legislation, accident insurance, old-age and sickness insurance, and various other social experiments. Berlin strove to become a social as well as an industrial center of Europe. German artists and craftsmen vied with each other as well as with the rest of the world for ascendency in their respective fields.

With the decline in business prosperity in the latter part of 1920 and throughout 1921, the business of the United States, faced by a loss of a large proportion of its volume, began an unprecedented movement for improving industrial facilities. Reduction of costs of production and application of means for reducing the use of labor greatly changed the customs of business, perhaps more than in any other similar period of time in the history of this country.

In a long range way, perhaps the most outstanding instance of national change from old customs to an attitude of fashion and invention has taken place in Japan during the last half-century. A generation ago, the leading governmental and business interests of Japan set out to modernize their country and put it in line for competition in the world's market against the western nations, with the result that not only have Japanese industrial methods been completely revolutionized, but to a very great extent its social life as well. Many of the ancient Japanese customs still survive in the private life of the people, but the power of fashion has extended its boundary line far

into the territory that was formerly completely ruled by custom.

More recently, China has come under the same modifying influence of contact with western nations, in part by choice and individual initiative in the establishment of schools and industrial institutions, and in part by force of necessity through internal warfare and the need for utilization of the most effective means of gaining victory.

Characteristics of Rule of Custom and of Fashion

When custom rules new things come into use very slowly and largely by pretending that they are old. In such fields as law and religion in which custom is almost always powerful, progress is made, but in nearly every case by relating these developments to views and principles long held and followed as a matter of custom. Religions are, of course, redefined and reformed in every age. This must of necessity be the case in order that they may meet the requirements of their followers, but usually these changes are, as a matter of form, interpreted as the expressions of wisdom of the ancient prophets and of the sacred books rather than as new ideas. Likewise, when fashion rules, old things, manners and customs that are needed must of necessity claim newness to continue in existence.

Custom and fashion alternately extend their boundaries of influence and power and sweep all before them like tidal waves. At one period custom carries everything before it, and at another fashion sweeps custom backward. Periods of custom are characterized by conservatism and periods of fashion by restlessness and change.

Custom influence, as has been pointed out, is very much more powerful in some lines of human activity than in others, as for example, in consumption rather than in production. In other fields fashion is much more formidable than custom.

Both custom and fashion are powerful in the field of consumption, but fashion exercises its influence largely in such consumption as is public or semi-public, the exteriors of homes, in automobiles and in clothing, whereas custom is more powerful on factors of consumption that are more nearly purely private or ordinarily not visible to the public.

Conditions of Custom Rule

Custom rules wherever there is no great stress or pressure of necessity for change. Powerful influences are necessary to provoke change. For example, in the industrial and business world under the stress of competition, the adoption of newer methods may be and frequently is the only means of survival. Those concerns that stick to customary methods pass out of existence. Those that change and adopt better methods continue to exist. In consumption custom rules more strongly than in production, for the reason that in consumption there is not nearly so much competition nor such force or stress of necessity. Consumption is largely a personal and individual thing and it is also largely a matter of personal freedom.

Production during the last hundred years has been under very severe competition. No wonder that there has been so much more rapid progress during this period in methods of production than there has been in either methods or materials of consumption.

War causes even formal, custom-bound governments, military organizations and administrative groups to change to newer methods and to innovations. Necessity is the determining factor. Where necessity for change does not exist, custom rules. Wherever custom interferes with necessity, custom must give way or society goes under. Custom continues where there is no necessity for change or where it does not get in the way. The nicks in the coat lapel or the bow in the

back part of the hat band are harmless survivals that do not interfere, are not in the way and therefore are preserved by that conservative instinct in human nature that changes only when necessary.

It may also be observed that custom is stronger in matters affecting emotions or feelings than in matters pertaining to objective facts or materials. It is probably for this reason that custom is so much stronger in ceremonials, in relations of the sexes, as for example, in forms of engagements and marriages, in matters of religion, and in such ceremonials as at funerals.

CHAPTER VII

MODESTY IN RELATION TO FASHION

Fashion is always modified more or less by custom. It is also modified by the current views of modesty. A new fashion, as a rule, does not stand much chance of wide acceptance if it breaks too abruptly with custom, nor may a fashion transgress the prevailing views of modesty very far. However, fashion always does break with custom to some extent and always does transgress modesty somewhat for the very reason that it is a change from foregoing practice. Fashion is, therefore, always in conflict with custom and with modesty. Custom and feelings of modesty are very closely related. Modesty, as we shall see, probably grows out of custom.

The Meaning of Modesty

Modesty means an observance of propriety or decorum. It involves the humble estimate of oneself in comparison with others, or a sensitive shrinking from anything indelicate. It is really a careful observance of custom. The feeling of shame arising from immodesty is a product of wounded vanity and disapproval, or fear of disapproval of others, and, since it is related to the observance of custom it is when custom is broken that the feeling arises.

The emotions of immodesty are felt whenever one is caught trying to do what one has been taught not to do. As illustrations of this home-made definition, certain examples of immodesty may be cited. Self-boasting is immodest, whereas boasting of others is acceptable from the standpoint of custom. To shout interruptions in church services is considered highly

indelicate and immodest because contrary to all custom, whereas interruptions in political meetings are quite the custom and therefore not immodest. To eat meat with one's fingers is an illustration of disregard of custom and is therefore considered immodest, while to eat asparagus with one's fingers is quite right from the standpoint of custom and therefore includes no possible feeling of immodesty.

Modesty Has No Necessary Relation to Dress

Students and writers on sociology have frequently pointed out that the feeling of modesty is much later in its development than the desire for clothing. According to this view, modesty had nothing to do with the origin of clothing. The use of clothing for ornament came first, followed by its use for protection. Then clothing which had long been used as ornament and for protection became custom. When it became custom, then to go without clothing caused the rise of the feelings of immodesty.

The objects of modesty have changed greatly with time and place. Clothing itself, as we have already seen, has no necessary part in modesty. Nakedness is never immodest when unconscious; nudity is no part of immodesty. It became immodest to expose any part of the body after it has been customarily covered up. The customs of a people determine what is modest and what is immodest. Mohammedan women cover up their breasts, throats and faces but not their legs; western women wear both low-necked gowns and short skirts without feelings of immodesty. A savage naked woman feels shame only if not properly painted or tattooed and forced to appear without her customary necklace. In modern civilized life the type of garment suitable for the bathing beach, and considered entirely modest for bathing beach surroundings, is considered entirely immodest for street wear. Women who first began

to have their hair bobbed expressed the feeling of queerness akin to immodesty when the fashion first began, but when the practice became common and customary the feeling disappeared. Views of modesty, therefore, are very arbitrary because dependent entirely upon custom.

The feeling of modesty so closely connected with custom is, indeed, a powerful aid of custom toward its maintenance. This feeling arises whenever a custom is broken and stands as a threat against the breaking of custom. Consequently, the conservative organizations of society, such as the church and government, are nearly always in opposition to fashion movements, and the argument most frequently hurled against fashion is its immodesty.

The Opposition of Religion to Fashion

The established church has always opposed fashion movement, particularly in apparel and adornment of both men and women. New fashions have been declared to be both immodest and sinful. It would be easy to compile large volumes of quotations of judgments and pronouncements of church dignitaries against fashion. They have apparently appeared in every age and against every innovation, and the more powerful the church, the greater its opposition to fashion.

The antagonisms to fashion are not confined solely to churches of the Christian faith. The Jewish synagogue has battled valiantly against fashion changes for thousands of years. Buddhists and Mohammedans, Shintoists and Confucianists, as well as Jews and Christians, all agree in this one respect, that the adoption of new fashions is a work of evil and something to be opposed.

In spite of the opposition of organized religion, it may be pointed out that fashion has always pursued its wayward course without apparent change. Whatever its merit or evil to hu-

manity, fashion seems to have come out victoriously in all of its struggles with religion.

The Opposition of Government to Fashion

Governments, as a rule, whenever the subject of fashion has come up, are generally opposed. The sumptuary laws of the Middle Ages were direct disapprovals of fashion tendencies to imitate the luxurious expenditures of the higher classes. Sumptuary legislation in modern times takes the form of prohibition on various sorts of consumption such as alcoholic drinks, the use of tobacco, and restrictions on the purchase and use of narcotics. The basis of these laws, however, is not fashion, but public health policy. But there are vestiges of sumptuary laws, even in these modern times, which aim to preserve custom by making people modest, such as the prohibition of wearing the apparel of the opposite sex, and ordinances regarding the propriety of bathing costumes.

The Opposition of Old People to Fashion

The movements for the maintenance of custom and a proper regard for modesty generally represent the views of the older and more conservative people of the community. Aside from the criticisms that come from the church, most complaint against fashion originates in organizations of older people such as "Mothers' Congresses" and "Federations of Women's Clubs." Scarcely a year passes in which formal resolutions are not passed by such organizations condemning current fashion and calling upon its own members, the school, the press, the church and society to stamp it out. The members who pass these resolutions seem to forget that the type of apparel they would approve for its modesty was an object of similar resolutions of condemnation a few years ago and

that the fashions so fiercely condemned now will, in the future, most certainly be considered the paragons of modesty and decency as against the fashions that will then climb to supremacy. This isn't prediction. It is but an illustration of the eternal conflict of custom and fashion.

Editors of newspapers and magazines, ripe in experience and wisdom of past years, occasionally criticize fashion in their editorial columns while evidently allowing their advertising pages and their fashion departments to extol the latest innovations. Editors, in common with all of the rest of us, tend to grow old and in consequence to forget the revolutionary ideas of their youth and to look upon all change, including fashion, as an indication of society's rapid moral degradation and disintegration.

The Opposition of Physicians to Fashion

From time to time doctors fulminate against fashions. Instead of urging their immodesty, they usually point out that the new fashions are a cause of ill health, of deterioration of the human body. The immodesty argument is not absent, however, in medical literature. For four hundred years doctors preached, in season and out but without any apparent result, against the evils of tight lacing. Not a textbook on women's diseases appeared without references, in some cases chapters, on tight lacing. A famous physician of the eighteenth century gave tight lacing as the main cause of not less than ninety-two named diseases. In due course of time fashion changed and tight lacing passed out, but it is doubtful whether physicians' criticisms of the corset and tight lacing had anything to do with the change.

Since corseting has become more rational, physicians have turned their criticisms, quite rightly but probably quite hopelessly, on the evils of tight shoes and high heels. Recently,

one of the best known physicians in the United States gave an interview to representatives of the press, stating that high-heeled shoes worn by women were resulting rapidly in a destruction of beautiful calves. No attack on fashion could be more subtle, but recent fashion announcements indicate that heels of fashionable shoes are likely to be still higher.

Similarly, physicians have loudly criticized the fashion of women to wear grossly inadequate clothing in the winter time. They have told us that this constitutes a cause of influenza and pneumonia. Fashion has not given any indication of bowing or bending to these views. Apparently nothing ever comes of such criticisms. People read them; they seem interested; sometimes they are convinced. In other cases they are amused. But they follow the fashion. They are like the man who was told that he must either give up drink or lose his eyesight and who replied, "Then, good-bye, eyesight!"

The Opposition of Teachers to Fashion

Teachers likewise occasionally take up the rôle of the reformer in matters pertaining to fashion, and seek purification of the morals of the people through opposition to fashion innovation. The public school system and most other educational institutions are, for the most part, strongly conservative influences favoring the preservation of custom as against fashion. It may perhaps be questioned whether the motives of teachers who criticize fashion are not in some measure influenced by the low salaries received, thus preventing them from indulging their own natural interests in fashion. As it is, in most American communities at the present time, the income of the teacher is insufficient to make competition in lines of fashion possible, even with middle class people.

Individual voices in opposition to fashion mean little or nothing. Fashion is a mass phenomenon and it is guided by

mass opinions or, rather, mass tendencies. The urge for change, that is, for new fashions, must be very fundamental in human nature. It pushes its way through custom and all of the institutions supporting custom—the church, state, school, and established orders and professions. One of its main obstacles in this field of custom is the feeling of modesty, but even this melts before group acceptances. While custom is a group fact, modesty is a matter of personal, individual feeling. In the earliest stages of the breakup of custom and the start of a new fashion, the feeling of immodesty is a strongly deterrent force, and the greater the innovation from custom, the stronger the feeling of immodesty, but as the fashion gains acceptance, the feeling of solidarity in the growing group overcomes the feeling of immodesty, so that appeals made on the basis of modesty or immodesty come to have no force. It is only in the early stages of a fashion movement that modesty plays a highly important part in the promotion of the fashion.

CHAPTER VIII

UTILITY IN RELATION TO FASHION

Utility as a Criterion or Condition of Successful Fashion

The consumer's interest in any fashion object at the present time seems to be very definitely limited by its real or apparent fitness for practical purposes. A piece of household furniture, according to present standards of taste, must be both useful and comfortable. An automobile, to be in the height of fashion, must represent not only beauty in color and lines, but also power, speed and a very high degree of comfort for its user. Similarly, in apparel the greatest possible stress is placed on fitness or utility of the garment. It may be asserted that a fashion at the present time would have but little chance for wide adoption unless one of its principle arguments was utility. This happens to be one of the fundamental facts in present-day fashion trends.

There is, to be sure, a varying degree of application of utility in merchandise for consumption. The tools of a mechanic obviously must represent efficiency most of all, for the reason that they must be used under highly competitive conditions and their expense and probable rapid depreciation put efficiency in front of every other consideration. Similarly, the machines in a factory or even the factory building itself must of necessity, first of all, be efficient. Beauty and style may be present but are not usually considered of major consequence. It may be noted, however, that efficiency of tools and machines, or even of buildings, unaccompanied by style and beauty may result in less production than when combined with art. The psychology of the worker and his reactions to his

surroundings are factors that must be given consideration even in the effort to secure highest efficiency. The feeling of pleasure, or even of pride, of the worker in implements or tools and machines as well as buildings has a decided effect upon the total productive output.

In home furnishings, the equipment of the kitchen represents the requirements of utility more than the living room. Fashion changes affect both kitchen and living room but utility and efficiency, or what is believed to be utility and efficiency, continue to be the ruling factors, whereas in living room furnishings appearance, style and possible impressions on other people rule stronger than personal comfort and utility to the owners and chief users.

In such fields as apparel and automobiles, fashion assumes the greatest importance, although as already pointed out, one of the conditions of fashion success is the real or apparent fitness of the article in fashion for some practical purpose.

Actual or Simulated Appearance of Utility

Stress has been placed upon the importance of apparent utility where real utility may be challenged. Numerous illustrations could be given of articles in fashion and therefore much in demand, which satisfy the requirements of utility and efficiency by simulation rather than in reality. In apparel, buttons and buttonholes are placed to simulate use but are never used. Imitation pockets, or pockets so shallow as to hold nothing, are frequently added to women's suits. Even in garment styles themselves there is much simulation of the practical. So-called sports clothing is often merely faintly symbolic of sports use. The ordinary sports dress for young women is in no way suitable for any active outdoor sport; it isn't durable enough and it isn't comfortable enough for real play. Nor do the wearers of such sports clothes ever indulge

in sports. Sports clothing, in this sense, is just a pretty figure of speech, a metaphor for afternoon frocks really suited for tea and bridge party or for grand-stand participation in sports. The simulation of sports use supplies the necessary practical note to insure the success of the fashion.

During the spring of 1928 the term "spectator sports" was devised and used by some of the fashion periodicals, notably the *Ladies' Home Journal,* to describe the part played by most people in active sports and the types of garments suitable for such occasions.

The standard of practical utility or the simulation of utility which forms a part of present fashion requirements has not always been a part of fashion, nor is it certain that it will continue to be so. The "leg o' mutton sleeves" of the 1830's, the crinoline of the 60's, and the bustles of the 70's and 80's were certainly not dictated by practical utility. Present-day sports apparel, with its admitted absurdities, is much nearer practicability than were these styles. As a matter of fact, a different philosophy of art rules now. In the period from 1885 to 1900 there was "art for art's sake," "pure art," and "art as enjoyment in itself." Under this philosophy the logical outcome could be no other than bric-a-brac in home furnishings and leg o' mutton sleeves and flower garden hats in apparel. Formerly, when art was considered a separate entity something apart from everything practical—when a lady wanted a pretty hat, she tried to get something that was a work of art in itself. That it might have little or no relation to her other apparel or to her own personality made little difference. Those were the days when art was art and hats were hats.

Practical Purposes of Dress

Students and writers of anthropology have pointed out with convincing profusion of evidence that dress originated

with ornament. Human beings began decorating themselves by painting themselves, by scarification and tattooing, and by hanging trophies and other decorative pieces about the parts of their bodies where they would stay without falling off, such as at the waist, the neck, the wrists and the ankles. Clothing originated from the last-named method of decoration. Gradually, these early decorative attempts, whether in the form of pretty shells, bears' teeth, colored stones, leaves, flowers or the skins of animals, began to assume the form of shirts and skirts and thus became clothing.

1. *Ornament.* Ornament not only served the purpose of personal decoration according to the various artistic conceptions of primitive people, but also as the means of designation of individual distinction. So ornament and early forms of dress indicated the social position, power, wealth and even reputability of the wearer. The savage chief with his necklaces of lions' teeth, scalp locks of enemies, or other evidences of his prowess proved his power to beholders.

In time, the wearing of ornaments and decorations also took on the function of serving as evidence of respectability. So they were worn on all ceremonial occasions as well as at social opportunities, to impress other people. To wear them became a reputable practice and an expression of respectability. To be without them resulted in the feeling of immodesty.

2. *Protection and Comfort.* A second purpose of dress which evolved long after the use of clothing as ornament is for protection against the cold, wet, the wind, the heat of the sun, and so on. The custom of wearing ornaments and decorations, the rudiments of clothing, in time disclosed their usefulness as means of protection. Under the rigors of changing climate, people found some cheer and comfort in wearing their ornamental vestments as a protection from the cold and wind. That was a great discovery. Then followed the long development of clothing as a means of protection.

3. *Miscellaneous Purposes.* Clothing serves the purposes of modesty. As has been frequently pointed out in numerous places, clothing also serves the purpose of emphasizing sexual characteristics and as a means of impressing the opposite sex. Apparel is one of the most effective means or aids in conveying impressions of character and therefore in gaining the esteem and good will of other people.

Criticisms of Women's Apparel

Clothing is frequently criticized from the standpoint of practical utility as well as from the standpoint of beauty, fashion, becomingness, and so on. Criticisms, if made often enough and by enough people, tend to have an effect on the trends of fashions. Ordinarily, however, fashion moves without much regard to criticism, particularly when voiced by individuals. However, it may be worth while to list some of the objections raised against clothing.

The criticism most frequently made against women's apparel at the present time, generally from the medical profession, is that the current use of high-heeled shoes is injurious and many women wear shoes that are too tight. Experts on shoe fitting maintain that more than two-thirds of the women in the country have foot trouble, most of which is ascribed to these two causes. Yet such is the grip of fashion that most women would probably rather suffer foot difficulties than to be out of the mode. Artistic standards of feminine beauty, influenced by fashion, are opposed to reform in this regard. To people who have been trained in current fashion and conventional art, the low-heeled, broad shoe does not look well. Even the natural gait that results from wearing low-heeled shoes with comfortable lasts does not conform to what fashion prescribes as dainty and fashionable locomotion.

Another criticism frequently made, also by doctors, is against the scantiness of apparel worn by many women, particularly during the winter time. It is urged that the current fashions in this regard are conducive to great increases in colds, influenza and pneumonia. There are, however, no statistics supporting this view. Women's tight felt hats are also subject to criticism for their possible tendency of causing scalp trouble and baldness.

The women who are now criticized for wearing tight shoes, scanty clothing and tight felt hats had mothers and grandmothers who lived through eras of exaggerated tight lacing and other fashions equally bad. It may be presumed that the daughters will somehow survive the present-day evils so carefully pointed out by our leading physicians.

Women's clothing is often criticized because of the inadequate, unhygienic way in which it is attached or supported to the body. Stockings are held up by garters or by rolling, which, to hold the stockings in place, must be so tight as to result in shutting off circulation of the blood and to cause ugly red marks. There is too much use of elastics, also hindering circulation, at the waist and knees. Draw-strings commonly used in women's clothing are also condemned. Clothing supported from the waist rather than from the shoulder is occasionally criticized.

Another type of criticism of women's apparel is that it does not fit well and requires altogether too much time and attention to keep it in place. Shoulder straps are constantly falling down and, when sitting, skirts ride up too high, with the result that women are almost constantly fussing with their clothes. This, the critics say, proves that the clothing is poorly designed for the highest comfort.

Finally, women's clothing is criticized for its flimsiness, its inability to stand strain or wear, its easy tendency to rip and

tear, and its ease of soiling. In consequence, because of their clothes, women are naturally debarred from active pursuits and sports in which men indulge. They are therefore doomed to lives of innocuous posing in business pursuits as well as in outdoor activity and sports. A very, very small percentage of women rise above the trammels of clothing and become proficient in either active, physical vocations or in sports, and then generally by disregarding both fashion and custom and by wearing apparel dictated by practical necessity and not by fashion.

Criticisms of Men's Apparel

Men's apparel comes in for much more severe criticism at the present time than women's. For example, there is almost general agreement that the suit for men weighs too much. It is uncomfortable in many particulars. The ordinary business coat is a very inconvenient article of apparel for any kind of work. It is too tight for active, physical labor. The coat length is usually wrong to give proper protection to the body from cold. The construction of men's clothing does not permit the free passage of light and air. It does not allow the opportunity for skin respiration, easy evaporation of perspiration, and all of the beneficial effects of light, now considered so essential to health and well-being, are shut off.

There has been considerable progress in men's clothing, adaptations to suit the weather and the seasons, but there is probably room for a great deal more improvement in this respect. In summer, in particular, men's apparel is still very uncomfortable. There is a very real problem to prepare suitable summer clothing, first, that is light and cool; second, that keeps its shape and attractive appearance; and third, that is reasonable in cost. The last factor is of special significance,

particularly in northern regions, for the reason that the very hot summer season is not more than two or two and one-half months long. The man who spends from $35 to $50 for a suit of clothes cannot afford to spend as much for a hot weather suit from which he can secure but a few weeks of wear. Simpler, more attractive, as well as cheaper summer apparel for men still remains to be provided.

There have been many improvements in the construction of shirts and underwear, but the construction of a man's shirt band and the use of ordinary types of collars is entitled to very real criticism. A tight collar over an uncomfortable shirt band tends to shut off circulation to and from the head. The constant pressure produces an undue irritation on important nerves close to the surface in the throat and neck. Neither result is conducive to good health and most comfortable feeling.

Men's clothing is made with too many pockets, most of which are useless. If used, they would spoil the appearance of the garments. The full dress coat is a grotesque article of clothing that serves no useful purpose whatsoever, other than conformity to a custom. Men's trousers creased in front and back may serve as traditional proof of not having to do physical work requiring the bending of the knees, but judged apart from the fashion and conventions, creased trousers seem very mechanical and uncomfortable. There is nothing about creased trousers that suggests either efficiency or practical utility.

Men's hats are proverbially heavy and uncomfortable and while some gains have been made during the past ten years toward more sane headgear, most men wear hats that are far too hot, too tight and too heavy, especially during the summer time. The great increase in use of automobiles has increased the use of hats worn so tight as to prevent being blown off, but which is far from comfortable and is probably injurious to the scalp.

Standards of Utility

One may set up, tentatively at least, certain standards representing the best current views for clothing considered from its functional purpose or utility.

In the first place, it will be generally agreed that one of the first considerations of utility in relation to clothing is that it should be *cleanly* and that it should permit of *easy and cheap cleaning*. Modern hygiene requires that clothing touching the skin should be frequently cleansed. In this, fashion and aesthetic standards support hygiene. The cost of cleaning enters into the problem of clothing to a very marked degree and helps to modify fashion. One of the reasons for the popularity of simple silk dresses as compared with cotton frocks is the comparative ease and low cost of cleaning silk.

A second standard with respect to clothing from the standpoint of utility is that it should provide necessary *warmth*. It should be suited to the climate, season and living conditions. This means that clothing should be of the right weight and right amount. Due regard needs to be taken for the changes in heating of modern homes, offices and factories as well as the improvement in heating the various forms of conveyance, from the railroad train to the closed automobile.

Clothing, it is now agreed, should be as *light in weight* as possible. There is no hygienic or physical reason for carrying around more weight in clothing than is actually needed. It is probable that any fashion tending to introduce greater weight of clothing, at least in the immediate future, will meet with stubborn opposition because of this important utility factor.

Clothing should provide for the easy *transmission of both light and air*. Much greater importance is placed upon light as a factor in human health and well-being now than in previous times. Recent investigations on the relation of light to health have resulted in a revolution of views. There are physicians

who go so far as to say it is impossible to maintain good health and mental condition without the opportunity for light as well as air reaching the body. Clothing should likewise provide for easy evaporation of perspiration from the skin. Altogether, the interest in clothing that will give these results is so great that it is probable that fashion trends will have to take this into account more and more in the future.

Clothing should be such as to allow the utmost freedom for all muscular activity and for *free movement of the body,* particularly at the joints of the neck, waist, arms, legs, hands and feet.

Clothing should be so constructed as to *avoid pressure or pull* over yielding parts of the body, as for example, over muscles, over the abdomen, around the throat, anywhere near large blood vessels and nerves. Though there is a difference of opinion on this subject, it seems likely that those who urge that clothing should be suspended from the shoulders rather than the waist, both for men and women, have the better of it. The tendency for many years for men to wear belts is at the present time giving way to a strong fashion trend toward wearing suspenders. The male figure is less adapted to support of clothing from the waist and hips than the female figure. The fashion to wear belts gained great emphasis during the war because the belt was a part of the army uniform. Probably no harm comes of belt-wearing in youth, if not strapped too tightly, but belt-wearing is generally unseemly as well as uncomfortable.

Clothing should, of course, offer protection for the more sensitive parts of the body such as the abdomen, chest, neck.

Clothing should be *suitable for its purpose* from the standpoint of practical use. Fashion trends are lending their aid in this direction by promoting entirely different types of clothing and apparel for different uses, such as business, home

wear, sports, work in factories or fields, as well as for all sorts of special social occasions.

Clothing should be *durable,* but not necessarily in the sense of lasting for several years. Most types of garments should last at least a season. Less than this produces a burden on those who can least afford it. More than a season's steady wear is also subject to some question. In the first place, the average consumer is tired of a garment after it has been worn steadily for a season. The fact that here and there one should find individuals who would like their clothes to wear for years does not alter the truth of the statement that probably most people, both men and women, would really like to have new clothes at least at the opening of each season. In the second place, garments worn for much longer periods of time tend to uncleanliness, regardless of cleaning processes used. Finally, fashion changes whether we will or not, and most people neither wish nor can afford to be out of fashion. The ideal coat, dress, suit, hat and shoes should, in connection with other garments worn, last in good condition, considering its purpose, from a season to a year. Either much more or less than this will create loss and waste of obsolescence.

Finally, under consideration of utility, clothing must be *reasonable in cost.* As a large metropolitan store has stated in its advertising, "It is Smart to be Thrifty." Furthermore, it is absolutely necessary for the great majority of consumers to be economical. They must make efforts to see that their incomes cover necessary expenditures, or great hardships will result. In an effort to secure their money's worth, merchandise offered to them, regardless of how highly sanctioned by custom or fashion, must embody qualities which obviously are valuable and which in the opinion of the customers bear some relation to the price asked for the goods.

There may be a few customers of large wealth who need not and who do not exercise careful thrift in making their pur-

chases, but the number of these must, of necessity, be very small because the number of people of great wealth is small. Furthermore, not all people of wealth are as careless with their money as the foregoing statement might lead one to believe. In fact, people of wealth are proverbially thrifty and economy-wise in their purchases, so that thoughtlessness in connection with expenditures for consumer's goods is by far the exception rather than the rule, regardless of what class of people are affected.

So, the merchandise must look as if it was worth the money that is asked for it. The result of the inspection depends, of course, upon many factors, not the least of which is the previous training and experience of the consumer purchaser. The opportunities for comparison of values and qualities are so great for most of the people that the education of the masses goes on very rapidly all of the time, even in matters of extreme style and fashion. Consumers' demands are likely to secure not only that which is fashionable but also that which is artistic and that which is applicable to their own personal aesthetic requirements but also suitable and fit for their particular needs and, finally, within a price which they can afford to pay and which secures in return an adequate serviceability and satisfaction for the money outlay.

In conclusion, the cost of clothing should be in reasonable proportion to other commodities and services. Cost to the consumer should bear proper relations not only to other goods but also to the services obtained therefrom. A coat that will wear well for a full season should not cost so much as one of such quality as will wear for several seasons. The aim of the consumer should be to secure the utmost of wear, comfort and pleasure of his expenditures for clothing in proportion to the money expended. This can probably be accomplished by most people by seasonal purchases and by paying enough to secure

goods that will last the season. Manufacture of clothing, it is believed, is steadily moving in the direction of supplying this need. Goods of poorer quality are being improved and goods of higher than necessary quality, from the standpoint of durability, are being produced more cheaply.

CHAPTER IX

THE FASHION WORLD

Sources of Material Used in the Creation of Fashion Goods

If one were to study the current fashions at any given time with a map of the world at hand, it would quickly be seen that nearly every country has some share, either directly or indirectly, in the production of the materials that enter into the production of fashion goods. To an even greater extent, every country in the world is interested in the consumption of fashion goods.

In the production of the raw materials used in fashion goods the United States ranks high. It also ranks high as a producer of many lines of finished fashion goods including fabrics of all kinds, apparel for men, women and children, footwear, hats, leather goods, hosiery, jewelry, automobiles, and home-furnishings.

The countries of Europe contribute not only to the fashion industries of their own countries but to the world as well. Silk fabrics come from the Lyons and Mülhausen districts in France; Congleton and Macclesfield in England; Crefeld, Elberfeld, Barmen, Bielefeld and Stuttgart in Germany; Zurich, Switzerland, and northern Italy.

Fine cotton goods come from the Manchester district in England; from Tarare, Rouen, Havre, Lille, St. Quentin, Amiens, Mülhausen and Epinal in France; Zwickau, Chemnitz, Breslau and many other cities in Germany; from Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Italy, Switzerland and Belgium.

Woolens and worsteds come in great quantities and wonder-

ful qualities from western Yorkshire in England, the Roubaix-Turcoing district in northern France, and a number of cities scattered over the German Reich.

In the production of apparel and particularly in the production of the accessories of apparel, one finds a high degree of geographical specialization, such as collars and shirts in Troy, N. Y.; hosiery in Philadelphia and Reading, Pa.; felt hats in Danbury, Conn.; leather goods in New York City and Offenbach, Germany; machine-made laces in Zion City, Ill., and in Nottingham, Calais, Coudry, Flanders, Annaberg, St. Gall, Appenzell, and other places in Europe. The ribbon industry in Europe is largely concentrated near London in England, St. Etienne and Lyons, France, and in certain parts of Switzerland. Jewelry of the higher grade is produced in or near London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels and Vienna, and jewelry of cheaper grades comes from Pforzheim, Gablonz, Vienna and Florence.

Each of the European nations contribute important items making up the requirements of fashion, and these countries in turn depend upon all the countries of the rest of the world for the raw material out of which they produce the finished product.

Centers of Fashion

The chief centers of production of fashion goods are, for the most part, the largest cities, or at least the cities of greatest wealth and political influence. Thus in Europe, the capital cities are quite naturally the centers of both the greatest fashion goods production and of fashion use. The leading fashion capitals of Europe are London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Rome, Stockholm, Oslo, The Hague, Brussels and Madrid. The capital cities are the centers of wealth, leisure, culture, influence and power for their own countries, and in the case of

London, Paris, Berlin and some of the others, these cities are congregating points for people of wealth and leisure from all parts of the world. Thus they become international fashion capitals. Paris is preeminently the leading city of the world in fashion.

There is, however, a movement of people who have keen interest in fashion outside of the capital cities just named. This movement is of sufficient volume and importance to require special notice. The places visited include the chief winter and summer resorts, the watering places and playgrounds. Thus, in France during the winter time many of the wealthy and leisure-loving followers of fashion desert Paris and, together with a great many similar people from other parts of the world, go southward to Egypt and other Mediterranean points, but more particularly to Italy, to Rome which enjoys its greatest social activity in mid-winter. The southeastern Mediterranean coast of France, known as the Côte d'Azur including the cities of Monte Carlo, Nice, Cannes, Mentone and San Remo, an Italian city, are exceedingly fashionable winter resorts, as is also the Lido near Venice, Italy.

Other groups of fashionable people go to Madrid and other parts of Spain and, since the World War, many go to Tripoli and Algiers which are now provinces of France.

There is another current of fashionable people who, instead of going to the Mediterranean for the winter, go to Switzerland and indulge in winter sports in the snows of the Alps. The center of the fashionable winter sports of Switzerland is St. Moritz.

In the latter part of February or early March, the current of resorters begins to move northward back to Paris and the other capital cities. Paris begins to be very active socially in April. Horse racing at Auteuil, Chantilly and Longchamps, all near Paris, attracts great crowds. After the long dreary winter, Paris with its wonderful boulevards and parks laid out through-

out and surrounding the city becomes very beautiful. Fashionable people throng the Avenue Bois in the spring sunshine. The retail shops hum with activity. Paris fashion activities are probably greater in early spring than at any other time during the year.

With the opening of summer the fashion groups again move, this time northward to the stylish watering places along the English Channel, such as Deauville, which exists solely as a fashionable resort and was established for resort purposes during the period of the Second Empire under Louis Napoleon by one of the court favorites, Count Morny. Other famous resorts on the English Channel include Le Touquet, Dinard and Trouville.

The fashionable people of Germany and Austria likewise go to the pleasure resorts on the shores of the North and the Baltic Seas, and there is a very heavy traffic every summer, particularly from Germany, into the Scandinavian countries.

England's fashionables gather at the leading watering places along the English Channel such as Folkestone, Brighton, East Bourne and Ramsgate. The English are fond of outdoor sports and fashionable people gather in great numbers to see the tennis matches at Wimbledon, yachting at Cowes, and rowing at Henley.

In the early autumn the movements of the fashionable and wealthy leisure classes are generally back to the capital cities, to Paris again, and then to Biarritz in southwestern France, and to San Sebastian in northern Spain on the Bay of Biscay, which are very popular fashion resorts during both spring and autumn.

The heavy drains on physical energy made by the constant rounds of pleasure at these resorts possibly explains why Aix les Bains, Vichy, Carlsbad and other so-called baths and cures are patronized by so many fashionable people at all times during the year. They too are, therefore, literally fashion resorts.

In America the movement of fashionable people with the seasons is somewhat the same. During the winter months there is a hegira of wealthy, leisure class people from the large cities of the east and central west to Florida, California and other southern points. The California resorts include particularly Los Angeles, San Diego, Coronado, Hollywood, and San Bernardino. Palm Beach and Miami are the best known of the Florida resorts. Since 1922, Cuba has made a strong and apparently successful bid for the fashionable American patronage. Havana is now the center of a great deal of winter resort social activities, and looks as if it might become increasingly so in the future.

The Swiss winter resort activities in Europe are paralleled to some extent by the winter sports in the United States in the Adirondacks and White Mountains. A large number of people also go to Quebec and Montreal.

In the early months of the spring the groups spending the winter in Florida and Cuba begin their movement northward to Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina, Aiken, S. C., and Pinehurst, N. C., and many other southern cities become centers of social activity during the latter part of March and during the month of April. Later Hot Springs, Va., and White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., come into prominence as spring resorts.

During the summer the movement is generally northward, from New York to Newport, which for many years has been the most outstanding fashion resort in America, to Bar Harbor, Me., Southampton, L. I., Tuxedo, Lake Placid, and Saratoga Springs in New York, and to the White Mountains. People from the southern states, from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi likewise spend their summers in northern cities and summer resorts along the Great Lakes and in Canada. During the autumn the fashionable resorters again move back to their city homes and make preparations for their winter

visits either at the southern winter resorts or to Europe and the Mediterranean.

Reasons for the Preeminence of Paris in Fashion Creation

Geographically, Paris possesses an *ideal location,* in the western part of Europe on the route both coming to and going from the principal fashionable sports and watering resorts. Many of the people going to the Riviera or Mediterranean regions must pass through Paris on the way. For many others, going through Paris is a convenient route. Train and steamer service from Paris to the resorts is always good.

Paris itself is the *greatest resort city* in the world. It has been this for hundreds of years. It is a tradition that wealthy people from all parts of the world go to Paris for a good time. The French people have been noted as a leisure-loving, fine-mannered, light-hearted race, who like a good time and desire to see others enjoy themselves. Amusements and manners that might be banned in a more intolerant or Puritanic atmosphere are permitted or at least condoned among the Latins. Consequently, it is hardly a matter of surprise that the largest city in France should be the center of the greatest social and resort activities.

But Paris is much more than the center of society of France. It is also the *center of an industrial area,* in certain ways the most remarkable in the world, devoted to the production of textiles, apparel and accessories for men and women and children, but more particularly for women.

In Paris alone there are nearly 300,000 persons employed in the production of women's apparel, lingerie, millinery, etc. This is a greater number than in any other city in the world.

In France there are over 1,200,000 persons engaged in the

production of textiles, apparel and accessories of various kinds entering into clothing and other fashion goods.

Not less than a quarter of the people in Paris and its environs are employed directly or indirectly in producing apparel for women, including textiles, embroideries, laces, buttons, braids, beads, leather goods, fringes, nettings, veilings, feathers, flowers, and so on.

Coming more directly to the *apparel producing industry,* known as the couture, it may be surprising to learn that there are more than 80,000 dressmaking shops in Paris alone. This is undoubtedly more than in any other city or in fact any other entire country in the world. It is certainly more than there are in the entire United States.

Naturally, a large proportion of these are very small establishments, but there are more than 200 that have 500 or more employees, and at least 25 organizations that employ over 1,000 employees each.

The dressmaking or couture industry of Paris is represented both by highly individualistic and artistic organizations and by other concerns aiming at mass production. It should not be overlooked that while the creation of designs is distinctly an artistic process, the methods of production in many of the leading couture houses have been highly organized on industrial lines, so that the quantity of production per season or year runs very high.

In no other city or center in the world is there any attempt to produce so many *new designs* in women's apparel per season as in France. The output in this direction is prodigious. The twenty-five largest houses, that employ a thousand or more employees each, produce from 500 to 1,000 models or designs per year, and there are at least forty others that produce from 100 to 200. The total number of new designs produced and shown by the Parisian couturiers is at least 10,000 each season, and, including the models that are produced between seasons,

it may be estimated that not less than 25,000 designs are produced per year in Paris.

It is almost unbelievable that there should be such a high annual production of individual designs in women's apparel. It is commonly stated by those who know the Paris couture industry that probably not more than a score of the many thousands of dressmaking establishments are really originators and artistic creators. The output of models or designs from other organizations is made up of hit-or-miss variations or, frankly, copies of what is produced by the real originators in the field.

Nor is the art of applied design exercised by the couturiers alone. The *textile houses,* the *millinery organizations,* the *producers of gloves, shoes, handbags, costume jewelry* and *other accessories* vie with the dressmakers in the production of multitudes of new designs in their efforts to secure the patronage of the world for fashion goods. The house of Rodier which came into existence in 1853 issued a statement in 1924 that, up to that time more than 1,600 separate and distinct designs had been created in cotton and woolen fabrics produced by that organization. Such is the industrial background that helps to make Paris the world center of fashion goods production. There are, however, other reasons for the preeminence of Paris in fashions which we will now enumerate with some detail.

Paris is the leading *historic style center* of the world. For several hundred years Paris has been producing style goods. This does not mean that it has always occupied the present position of preeminence, but it has actually led the world for most of the time during the last 300 years.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, Louis XIV set out to develop the production of artistic textiles and other goods contributing to apparel, by government encouragement and his prime minister, Colbert, is quoted as saying in a public

address that "French fashions are to France what the mines of Peru are to Spain." Louis XIV, "Le Grand Monarque," by example and prestige, caused the people of his empire to patronize the French and Parisian style industries, and under this influence it is not surprising that these industries grew rapidly in importance. Their reputation quickly spread among people of other nations as well.

The example set by Louis XIV in encouragement of the style industries was followed by his successors, Louis XV and XVI, so that down to the period of the French Revolution in 1789 France, and particularly Paris, remained the chief center of style goods production for the world.

There was a brief period of decline in French fashion rule during the revolution in 1789 and the directorate that followed, but on the accession of Napoleon Bonaparte to control, the government under Napoleon's direction again set out to develop French genius and talent in the production of style goods. While most of the other nations and their rulers in Europe hated and feared Napoleon, they could do but little to check their subjects from looking to France for fashion inspiration not only in apparel but in home furnishings, architecture and the other applied arts.

Following the defeat of Napoleon, France again lost much of her fashion prestige and other European centers such as Vienna, London and Berlin tried hard to take the leading position in fashion creation and influence. This was the situation when Louis Napoleon and Eugénie became the rulers of France in the early 50's, in what was known as the Second Empire. French fashion prestige again rose to the top. With the personal support and encouragement of the King and Queen, Paris again emerged as the leading capital city of the world of fashion.

Since 1870, there have been many efforts and minor threats to wrest the fashion supremacy from Paris. Vienna has made

several bids. London has had its ambitions, and for two or three years prior to the World War America tried to swing away from Paris influence, but without success.

In connection with the development of talent and artistic ability for the fashion industries, it is noteworthy that Paris possesses some of the best *art collections* in the world, such as are found in the museums of the Louvre, Luxembourgh and Cluny. The Paris libraries are rich in documentary material on all branches and phases of art, and the schools in art instruction of Paris are probably the oldest and best known in their respective fields in the world.

Another reason frequently given for the preeminence of Paris in the fashion field is the particular *ability and training of the Parisian and French workers.* The French are described as a people of a remarkable sense and development for things artistic, for appreciation of color, line and design, for appreciation of the combination of these elements in the things they make. By far, the larger part of all of the detail work in the apparel industries as well as in the industries producing accessories is done by women and girls, largely girls in their teens, and their ability as workers is no doubt due in large part to the custom of French families to train girls at very early ages to sew and to use scissors with skill and accuracy. The industry is in large part, therefore, dependent upon the domestic educational training of girls, but this is supplemented by a very excellent apprenticeship system and trade or vocational schools where sewing, designing and cutting garments is effectively taught by skilful teachers. In no other part of the world is the training of girls so thorough for the apparel industries as in France.

Paris, by virtue of its great museums and art galleries, its art schools, its timely, periodical exhibitions of art, its government encouragement of things artistic, is also *the international market for works of art,* and the headquarters for artists of

all kinds and from all parts of the world. There are in Paris *large numbers of artists* who specialize in designs applicable to textiles, leathers, jewelry and other material used in apparel. There are other thousands, including students, who are constantly preparing for work in the field of design and whose efforts are exhibited and who, while they may in the main produce little that is practical or possible, help to keep the entire designing world on its toes.

Among artists who have specialized in the design of textiles and particularly apparel for women, many are French or at least trained in French schools. Among these may be named Souliè, Drian, Ertè, de Monvel, Le Pape and Bakst. Bakst came to Paris from Russia, famous as a designer of theatre scenery and more particularly the backgrounds for the Russian ballet, but since that time has been engaged for much of his time in the design both of textiles and apparel.

The work of these artists and others in allied fields supplies the stimulation or inspiration for continuous improvement in apparel lines as well as in the classic arts.

Paris, in addition to being the greatest producing center in the world of women's apparel, is likewise highly important for its *production of other goods* that contribute in one way or another to apparel and to the development of fashion. Thus, it is one of the greatest centers of jewelry production. It is the leading center for the production of perfume and toilet goods, particularly of the more expensive grades. Some of the best-known organizations in the world, such as Roger et Gallet, Isabey, Rigaud, Geurlain, Bourgeois, Houbigant, Côty and Carron, have their headquarters in Paris. There are said to be more than 10,000 specialty perfume shops in Paris alone, more than in any other country in the world. Then there are the multitudes of shops of hairdressers, beauty specialists, manicurists, and others who live on some branch of the arts of fashion that are supported by the people of fashion who pat-

ronize Paris. By their presence in Paris they help to make Paris the fashion center of the world.

Almost everything that goes into the production of women's apparel is produced in Paris, or is at least marketed in Paris, such as embroideries, laces, braids, beads, buttons, feathers, metallic trimmings, ribbons, leather goods, and so forth.

The leading textile houses of France, such as Rodier, Bianchini, and Meyer and Company of France, are located in Paris, and the products of the leading textile houses of Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria and England are all available in the Parisian market.

In addition to the other factors that have already been named as causes of Parisian success and preeminence of fashion, is *the presence of a group of women in Paris who can afford and who dare to dress in new styles.* These groups include actresses, women who make personal dress their chief business, and the demi-mondaines.

Paris has a great many theatres. One of the customary methods of launching a new style with a view to its introduction as a fashion is by means of *actresses* who may be induced to try it out in the character parts on the stage. Many styles so introduced have become successful fashions. This process of launching fashions has had many advocates. It is possible that faith in its efficacy may account for the fact that, in a few cases, Paris dressmakers have become financially interested in theatrical organizations and may, therefore, be presumed to have some control over plays and costumes. Leading actresses have for years worked very closely with the well-known dressmaking organizations who have supplied them with their apparel for use on the stage. In the early 1900's, Sarah Bernhardt conducted her own dressmaking establishment.

Probably this method of introduction of new styles to the public was more influential before the World War than it has since been. There are indications that the more successful

actresses feel a greater hesitancy in attempting new styles in connection with their stage offerings than has heretofore been the case. The development of dramatic art towards realism has resulted in greater thought and care in the selection of dress that would fit the drama presented. It is said that actresses have recently refused to wear types of apparel dictated by couturiers because they were not in fashion. It was feared that the success of the play and of the leading characters might suffer if dresses not in fashion for modern parts were used. It is believed, however, that the stage still remains as an important factor in the introduction of new fashions.

A second and more important group from the standpoint of the introduction of new styles are *women with wealth,* generally the new-rich, who have not much to lose in case of failure to wear the right thing, but have much to gain by acquiring prestige in case of success in launching a new style. While they may not desire to appear ridiculous, they seem perfectly willing to take some chance in this respect for the possible opportunity to achieve social position and prominence by their leadership or possible leadership in fashion. Many foreign women who reside in Paris or who come to Paris for a season are included in this group, and of these there are many who will dress while in Paris in apparel that they wouldn't possibly think of wearing at home. There are also many *women who think they are artistic,* and who, if they have the means, seek artistic expression through dress, often something different from that worn by the crowds. Likewise, the *futile, useless, parasitic women* who may have wealth but who have no knowledge of how to use it but who seek escape from their futility in exercise of the arts of dress.

There is in France, and more particularly in Paris, a larger number of *women who make a business of smart dressing* than anywhere else in the world. Many of these have few other

interests, but with wealth and some real artistic ability are able to produce artistic effects in dress.

There is still another type of woman abounding in Paris, *the demi-mondaine,* who has always been a very important customer of the best dressmaking skill and one of the leaders of fashion. One of the noteworthy changes during the past twenty years in Paris as well as elsewhere has been the decline in dress leadership of the professional demi-mondaine, so that she is no longer such a dominant factor in the introduction of new styles and of starting of new fashions as she was before the World War.

The presence in Paris of large groups of women of the classes named above, actresses, socially ambitious, wealthy, pleasure-loving women who make smart dressing the chief business of their lives, and the demi-mondaines who use the arts of dress as an accessory to their professional advertising, supply the easy, and at the same time profitable, means for the experimental stages of new fashions. Without these classes of women it would be very difficult to give new styles a tryout. The field of choice for real fashion movements following these experiments would be much more limited. Style experimenting is something that cannot be carried on everywhere. For a woman to wear a distinctly new style in a typical middle western American town would be to stamp herself as "queer." Conformity is the rule of most communities. Similarly, very few, even of the most wealthy and best dressed women, even in the larger American cities, have any real desire except to be *in* fashion. Trying out absolutely new things, before they have become any part of the fashion, lies outside of the desire or daring of most women. The restless individuals, who find conformity in dress tiresome and the American milieu too difficult for individual innovation, go to Paris and there indulge their experimental fling in dress.

Habit of Looking to Paris for Fashion Inspiration

The long history of Paris as the capital city of fashion has developed a tremendous prestige as well as a habit of thinking in the minds of most fashion-wise people in the world. Whenever the word fashion is mentioned, almost instantly Paris comes to mind as its associate term. It is almost as if Paris and fashion were synonymous.

Buyers for retail stores, stylists and designers who have gained their education and experience in style and fashion from contact with and study of Parisian sources, are much more influenced than consumers who have no such background of Paris habit. Paris, with its many attractions as a resort, draws buyers and stylists as a magnet attracts filings. Even if there were the possibility of securing fashion inspiration elsewhere, it is probable that Paris would be favored at least as long as its other attractions outweigh those offered by any other city in the world.

Manufacturers, importers and retail dealers in the United States have, in many instances and for many years, advertised their allegiance and indebtedness to the style genius of Paris. Most of them visit Paris periodically or send representatives. Several have permanent connections in Paris that regularly report style development by wireless, cable, and letter and even send over samples of Paris productions. Among the most expert and exclusive of New York designers and dressmakers, some of whom are great creators of style in their own right, one finds complete subservience to Paris leadership. Whether rightly or wrongly, but probably rightly, they have concluded that Paris prestige means more to insure business success than the promotion of their own artistic skill. So the American trade has very generally made its investments in Paris fashion leadership. If Paris continues to be the leader of the world's fashions, the policy is justified. If Paris should at any time

lose her leadership, there would be a great loss in such investments, not to mention great ruin of local prestige and good will built on Paris promotion.

The fashion periodicals likewise subserve Paris prestige. From the highest-priced magazine with the most exclusive circulation, to the cheapest sheet going to the masses, all promote "Paris" styles in their editorials, in their fashion pages, in their illustrations, in their pattern service, as well as in their advertising. If Paris were suddenly blotted out of the fashion world, it is easy to imagine that a great many fashion writers would have a most difficult line of readjustment of their ideas and vocabulary. As it is, these periodicals probably give their readers what they want. It is fortunate that there is a more or less real Paris in the minds of fashion periodical readers, a Paris whose dicta, properly "authenticated" by fashion editors, are breathlessly awaited from month to month. The fashion periodicals, too, have their investments in Paris prestige. They, too, have their wagers on its continuance.

Artistic taste as well as keen perception of style values are both highly likely to lean heavily in the direction of one's investments. Probably most manufacturers and retailers in the United States have admired, purchased and offered to their customers Paris productions, which, if they had come from any other city in the world, would not have received even more than passing notice.

The selling power of Paris prestige is such among Americans that not a few of the new styles coming from Paris have been the results of ideas developed elsewhere but taken to Paris to be launched there as Parisian fashions. In fact, there are probably many concerns with considerable creative ability who wouldn't under any circumstance attempt to offer the products of their own art boldly and directly to the consuming public, but instead, issue their new styles through their Paris connections and, if possible, with the testimonial, endorsement, or

actual credit for the production assumed by some leading factor in the fashion world of Paris. In this way Paris is credited with starting many more styles than is actually the case. At the present writing, American magazines carry the national advertising of several American products including textiles, millinery, coats, dresses, underwear, hosiery, shoes and cosmetics with the testimonial or approval of well-known Paris couturiers. Paris prestige is used as a selling point. It may be fairly questioned whether this type of selling argument has not been overworked during the years since the war. It would not be surprising if the volume of such Paris prestige stuff were growing stale in the minds of the thinking women of the country.

Versatility of French Genius

Another highly important factor in the continuous success of Paris as a center of creation of styles is the versatility of its artists in producing what buyers will like and which those buyers will gladly recommend and praise. Paris not only creates on its own account, but also gives its customers what they want. While there has been a wholesale tendency for the people all over the world to adopt international fashion trends, so that the people of Buenos Aires are dressed very much the same as the people in New York, Berlin, Capetown, Calcutta, Melbourne or Tokio, still there are differences partly due to differences in season, as well as differences in taste and national viewpoint. Paris caters to all of these differences. The South American countries are among the best customers of the Paris dressmaking houses. The South American customer may be followed by a Maharanee of India, then later by a woman of fashion from Poland, then another from New Zealand, and so on. The Paris creators have, to a marked degree, been able to meet successfully the individual desires of the buyers from all

of these countries, so while some of the style houses cater particularly to the customers from certain foreign countries or colonies, others truly have an international trade and have been able to inspire the confidence of all in the style leadership of Paris.

Struggle to Maintain the Prestige of Paris in the Field of Fashion

The influence and prestige of Paris as the principal center of style and fashion as affects apparel, has not been maintained without struggle and severe competition from other sources. Several other cities have at one time or another challenged this prestige and industrious and ambitious business groups in these rival cities have exerted great effort in trying to take the fashion supremacy away from Paris.

At the end of the World War, both London and Berlin sought in various ways to attract some attention away from Paris. *Vienna* at various times has seemed on the verge of success in competition with Paris. In the period from 1820 to 1835 when Paris style production seemed to be at a low ebb, the influence of Vienna in the fashion world grew immensely. With the accession of Louis Napoleon and Eugénie in the early 50's, this competition sharpened into an intense struggle which was won by the French capital.

Vienna made another spectacular effort to get some share of the prestige of Paris during the World War by a series of promotion campaigns directed particularly to buyers of fashion goods in neutral countries. Attention was called to the facilities of the Viennese in the production of fine quality merchandise and possibilities of preeminence in style. While both Austria and France were at the time deeply engrossed in the war, the competition for style prestige was carried on almost unintermittently. An exhibition and style show of

Viennese goods for neutral nations was arranged and held in Switzerland. France met this by sending a most attractive exhibit and by holding a French style show at the same time and place so that, in the comparison made by buyers from neutral countries between the goods shown by Viennese houses and Parisian houses, Paris lost little, if anything.

In certain lines Vienna has for several years enjoyed a high style influence, but mainly in the accessories of apparel such as umbrellas, handbags, jewelry, lingerie, certain types of millinery and shoes, rather than in the main items of outer wear. There are style producing organizations of outstanding ability in Vienna which are known world-wide for their quality of product and artistic ability. Among these may be mentioned the Wiener Werkstätte which produces not only apparel of various kinds but also articles for home decoration, including drapery, curtain materials and even furniture. The Wiener Werkstätte have been leaders during the last ten years in the modernistic art movement.

In the period from 1907 or 1908 down to 1914, a movement was carried on in the United States for the promotion of *American fashions for American women.* While originally apparently sponsored by manufacturers of fabrics and of ready-made goods, by 1912 it had attracted the attention of some of the leading periodicals, among them the *Ladies Home Journal* which under the direction of its editor, Edward Bok, promoted an intensive campaign for American styles and style products.

Many newspapers throughout the country joined in the campaign in favor of American fashions for American women, but the larger department stores with Paris connections for the most part gave only lukewarm support to the idea. Some of the trade papers, especially the *Drygoods Economist,* urged the futility in season and out, of American fashions for American women and pointed out quite rightly that fashion is an inter-

national rather than a national matter. By the time of the opening of the World War, the whole movement had lost its force and interest. Thus at the very time when it might have attained greatest importance, due to the isolation of France from the rest of the world by war, the movement itself had been deemed hopeless by American producers and distributors.

Since the World War, *London* has made a strong bid for a part of the fashion patronage of the world by opening up periodical exhibitions of style goods and by sales promotion of its products all over the world, but more particularly in British colonies. Appeals have been made to the colonials to buy British-made goods in much the same way as the American campaign back in 1910-12 urged Americans to patronize American products. For certain classes of goods, the British market is of course preeminent as, for example, in sports wear, golf clothing, knitted goods and fabrics of fine machine construction, particularly in cotton and linen. It does not appear that the British campaign has made much progress in the lines in which Paris couture is traditionally strong.

Berlin, too, has had its ambition to lead in the world of fashion, but has made but little progress outside of Germany and, to some extent, Russia. Berlin has been and is now essentially the fashion capital as well as the political capital of the German nation, and practically nothing more. Whether Berlin may in the future exercise important style influence beyond the German Reich remains to be seen, but at the present time does not seem to offer any great degree of competition against Paris as affects outside nations. This does not mean, however, that Berlin does not have the artistic talent or the ability to produce fine goods in which style is an important factor, for all of these are possessed by German artists and artisans. In passing, it may be stated that the modernistic art movement and its applications have probably received a greater

impetus from German-speaking artists than from any other single group in the world.

An interesting but probably unimportant effort has been made in *Italy* to control fashion. In 1923, Mussolini asked Italian women to patronize Italian-made styles, so that there might be distinctly Italian fashions. The adoption by great numbers of men in Italy of the Fascist uniform may have suggested to Mussolini the possibility of something of like nature for women, but reports coming out of Italy since 1923 do not indicate any high degree of loyalty or even of interest in a movement for Italian fashions for Italian women.

Internal Struggles in the Paris Style Industry

During the period of the World War, comment was frequently made by the leaders of the industries producing style goods that a great slump had occurred which would require more than customary energy to overcome. But following the war, there came a great rush of demand from practically all parts of the world for style goods of every quality. The prosperity of the style industries rose, without much effort, to great heights. Perhaps the degree of this prosperity helped to delude the Paris style houses into believing that their prestige was beyond any injury whatsoever. Then came the period of business decline in 1921 and 1922. The style houses in common with other industries began to feel the pinch of very bad times. This resulted in serious self-analysis within the industry to determine, if possible, why business had fallen off and why export trade in styles to other nations had declined.

It was during this period that the Paris dressmaking houses, many of them, came out so strongly and so mistakenly in a prediction that the silhouette would change and that skirts would be lengthened. The failure of these predictions, together with the loss of business, must have caused some search-

ing questions to be raised in the minds of the managers of the style organizations. Not a little discussion occurred in Paris, as well as elsewhere, as to what the outcome would be for the future for Paris and her style industries.

The managing ability back of the French style houses manifested itself with a wonderful degree of cleverness in the moves that were made during 1923 and 1924 in reestablishing Paris as the predominant style center of the world. The modernistic art movement had gained considerable grounds in most of the European countries, particularly in Germany as has already been noted, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Austria, in the Scandinavian countries, in Holland and Belgium as well as in France. One of the wisest steps taken by France was the decision to hold an exposition illustrating the progress of the arts along modernistic lines. So all nations were invited to participate in the International Exposition of Industrial and Decorative Arts held in Paris in 1925.

This exposition turned out to be a success both financially and industrially for Paris. Many people were attracted from all parts of the world to see it. A deep impression was created favoring the modernistic art movement, and most of the people who attended it, including producers and distributors, have since been inclined to give Paris the credit for the whole modernistic art movement.

The exposition had an enormous revivifying influence, not only in the field of pure art, but also in the field of production of style goods. Other exhibits and expositions have been held almost continuously in the United States, in other European countries and in South America ever since the original Paris exposition displaying modernistic art in all of its applications. The modernistic art movement seems destined to have a very important influence over much of what goes into use and consumption all over the world, and the prestige of Paris has

been heightened very greatly by the fact that the first general exhibition of works of art of this genre was held in Paris.

Change in Character of Paris Couture

The World War, as almost every essay begins by saying, caused many changes in the character of the style industries and even in the organizations operating in these industries. Prior to 1914 almost all designing was done by individuals, generally the heads of the concerns. There was no thought of mass production and quantity orders were frowned upon by the best of the style houses. An order for a single garment or a small number was gladly taken. But an order for a hundred garments would be refused on the ground that there was no adequate organization to produce such quantity. There was also a strong belief in 1914 that to start production in such quantity would result in the destruction of the fashion interest in the items so produced.

The consumers purchasing style goods from the Paris houses prior to 1914 were largely members of old families of long standing and social positions as well as wealth. Nobility and aristocracy of birth were important factors in Paris couture trade. These people sought for a certain amount of individual treatment in their apparel or other articles of style purchased.

After the war, the rush of demand which came to Paris for style goods was unprecedented, not only in quantity and in prices offered, but also in that much of it came from people who had never purchased goods in Paris before and who had but recently reached a position of affluence making Paris purchases at all possible. These people, with few or no individual style traditions, social parvenus and nouveau riche, were not so particular in their demands for individual styles. Their first care was for styles that were fashion-right. The trend

of fashion itself began to move away from types of garments permitting much individual artistic treatment of any kind. The adoption of the straight silhouette with practically no trimming left but little choice for individual artistic expression. So there developed a change from individual production to mass production. This has been perhaps the most distinctive change that has occurred in Parisian methods of production during the last ten years.

The trend in fashion toward the straight silhouette and the elimination of trimmings and fancy designs, the rush of a new consumer demand that knew not the styles of Paris of pre-war times, together with a growing competition due to increasing numbers of style producing houses, all contributed during the period following 1921 to the development of mass production, particularly for the American and other export trade. Department stores and women's apparel specialty shops in America and elsewhere have gone much further in advertising French models, reproductions and adaptations of French models, than ever before. In the latter part of February and early March and again in August and September of each year, the newspapers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Los Angeles, and other metropolitan centers are loaded heavily with advertising of French apparel. There are many who think that Paris and Paris styles are being oversold and that such advertising has been carried too far. Certainly the amount of Paris fashion merchandise actually sold is very insignificant in comparison to the amount of advertising given to it. The total imports of all women's garments from Paris make up a very small percentage, probably not more than half of one per cent, of the total American retail garment sales. Certainly many of the retail stores that advertise Paris goods heavily do so for the purpose of sharing in the prestige that the word "Paris" carries rather than for the purpose of securing a profitable business on Paris-made goods. Further-

more, French models are generally sold to consumers at prices which do not exceed the actual cost of landing them in this country and very often at less than the actual cost. On reproductions, however, it may be presumed that most of the stores make normal rates of profit. Whatever the net result in dollars may be, evidently American stores think it worth while to promote Paris fashion, in the belief that it may add to their prestige with their customers. The fact remains that Paris models and reproductions made directly from Paris models occupy a much more prominent place in American merchandising than has heretofore been the case. Whether the ultimate effect will be helpful or harmful to Paris fashion prestige is a very real question that will be answered in time.

The demand for models from American department stores of all classes, both high and low, has contributed largely to the volume of Paris dressmakers since 1919. Before the war, sales to professional buyers for reproduction were frowned upon by many of the Paris dressmakers. Reproduction and copying were coupled and looked upon as something of a business crime. Following the war, however, the volume of possible sales, even though it were known that they were to be reproduced, had run so high that the leading Paris couturiers began to accept it unhesitatingly rather than let it go to competitors.

During the last ten years, from time to time the effort has been made to establish some form of license system to prevent unauthorized copying or reproduction of models. This movement up to the present writing has had but little success. Copying goes on at an enormous rate and the replicas of French models or what purport to be such are available in all classes of stores and at practically all prices regardless of whether or not their buyers ever visit Paris or purchase a single model.

Some Paris couturiers have sought to meet the problem of mass copying by establishing mass production on a price basis on their own account. It is not unusual for many couturiers

to take quantity orders now. It is a grave question as to what the effect of mass production among Paris couturiers will lead to. There are those who think it will destroy the high prestige of Paris for the production of style and quality and turn it into a center of production of merchandise at low prices. On the other hand, there are those who think that Paris can retain its prestige and still become a producer in quantity and price, and that organizations may thrive alongside of each other, on the one hand creating new styles, and on the other, producing in a mass way in the same manner as in this country.

The development of mass production in Paris is, of course, dependent to a large extent upon fashion and the possibility of utilization of French labor. Garments that can be made largely by machine requiring but little hand sewing or finishing, can be made as cheaply in the United States or any other part of the world as in France. There would be little object in importing such merchandise in quantity, paying the tariff, freight and other expenses on it to this country. On the other hand, garments requiring a great deal of hand labor using laces, embroideries, fancy shirring, beading, and so on, particularly when great skill is required, can probably be produced by French dressmaking houses, even in quantity, more economically than in this country. For example, when there is a strong fashion trend for beaded dresses, it may be possible to import French-made garments, pay the tariff and sell them in successful competition with similar garments made in this country. So when the trend is for garments that are highly trimmed or beaded, it may be possible for the Paris houses to carry on mass production for export, but when fashion goes against this type of merchandise and is followed by demand for garments that can be easily and cheaply made by machine, it may be rather more difficult for Paris couture to produce in quantity for export.

Obviously, the real strength of Paris in the field of fashion lies now as ever in the creation of styles that may gain acceptance as international fashions with the possibilities of sales of models only, or of models and reproductions in limited quantities at high prices.

CHAPTER X

THE HAUT COUTURE OF PARIS

Out of the thousands of dressmaking concerns located in Paris, there are probably not more than 200 that merit the title "Haut Couture." Of these 200, probably only about twenty-five are highly important at any given time, representing those who are most successful in creating that which constitutes the peak of fashion among the world's most fashionable people. There are members of the industry who themselves state that there are not over fifteen actual style creators. The remaining organizations, so it is claimed, are largely copyists of what is done by the first and highest fifteen.

Chambre Syndicale de la Couture

The leading members of the Haut Couture of Paris are organized in a trade association known as the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture. At the time of writing this, M. Worth, the head of the house of Worth, the oldest of existing dressmaking establishments, is the president of the Chambre.

The main objects of the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture are, first, to make it possible for its members to exchange information as to progress of styles; second, to cooperate in prevention of copying and style piracy, and third, to work together in maintaining stable labor conditions, uniform wage arrangements, hours of work, education of apprentices, welfare work, and so on. The Chambre Syndicale de la Couture also acts in case of disputes among its members, helps to set times of openings of new seasons, and is the official organ of the industry in its relations with the French government.

Tendency to Merger and Chain Organization Among Paris Houses

Some beginning has been made in the direction of merger or consolidation, but it is difficult to get specific information as to how far this has gone. Georges Aubert seems to be the head of one of such organizations owning ten or more leading dressmaking houses, including Poiret, Agnés, Doeuillet, Doucet, and Ch. Drécoll. This is a most interesting development. That chain methods may be used in the most highly specialized style producing industry in the world is worth noting.

Style Copying

The protection of the industry against copying, or style piracy as it is known, is perhaps the most difficult and at the same time the most engrossing problem before the Haut Couture of Paris. The extent of the evil of copying is almost unbelievable. Every known device is used by the style creators to prevent their designs from going into the hands of imitators and copyists, particularly before the products of the design are offered for sale and become a part of the commerce of the country, but it seems that every possible method is employed by the copyist to secure information about these designs, for copies are offered at about the same time that originals are displayed, and the copies are usually offered at half or less of the regular prices. Thus many retailers depend, for their business in French models, upon their purchases from the style pirates, the copyists. There is a ready market for the products of the copyists.

The leaders of the style field have tried, by systems of legal control, to prevent style piracy. There is a French law protecting design. Several of the leading houses pursue copyists

systematically and ruthlessly with all the means that the law provides. There are, almost continuously, lawsuits and prosecutions for infringements of design. Under the French law, it is possible to register designs and secure the formality of protection. Nothing of this sort has as yet been provided in the United States. Style-creating houses, both in this country and in Paris, would like to see such a law provided, so as to stop American copying of both American and French designs. The French law, while technically affording protection, as we have already indicated, does not stop the clever imitator from carrying on his profession industriously.

Because of this evil of copying, it is very difficult for anyone who is not properly introduced to gain access to the leading dressmaking establishments in Paris. There is distrust of everybody and, to insure that the new creations may not be copied, the style houses frequently keep their new designs locked up in safes and vaults before they are shown at the openings, and care is also used in the purchase of fabrics, trimmings, and so on, to make sure that leaks do not take place through these channels. It may be said that the problem of protection of designs is one of the most important ones demanding solution at the present time, not only in Paris, but in all other style centers of the world.

Education of Workers

The apprenticeship system for the workers of the dressmaking industries is worthy of note. Most of the employees doing the actual cutting and sewing are young girls, more than half of whom are still in their teens. They are called *midinettes*. They enter the dressmaking industry as apprentices at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Most of them have already had some instruction at home in the use of scissors and needle, but are given an intensive training in the dressmaking shops,

and a trade schooling in the knowledge and arts of dressmaking. During the apprenticeship period the midinettes attend classes for five hours a week, and are taught the history of textiles, the history of art, and the elements of designing, cutting, fitting and sewing. These trade schools are supported in part by the government and in part by the Chambre. They are governed by the Chambre.

After the age of twenty there is a high turnover due to the girls' marriages and leaving to become housekeepers. The couture industry attempts to keep as many as possible of their better trained girls in the industry even after they are married. Many do continue to work although the average typical French girl is a home-loving person and will manage to stay at home if it is at all possible, and it is more frequently possible in France than elsewhere, because of the fact that the small shop, store or factory is the rule rather than the exception. There are multitudes of small establishments all over Paris and its environs, run by husband and wife and other members of the family if there are any. A large number of the 80,000 dressmaking establishments in Paris are indeed operated by women who have served their apprenticeship as midinettes in the haut couture establishments.

Typical Couture Organization

Most of the best known houses in the dressmaking trade in Paris are established in buildings constructed for some other purpose but remodeled and rebuilt to serve their present tenants or owners. The typical building or plant of a Paris dressmaking establishment is a very imposing plant, particularly in its interior arrangement, including showrooms in which the utmost care is used so as to secure the best possible effects on the garments to be shown to prospective customers by color schemes and lighting, fitting rooms for the use of



PLATE 16 A. THE LINGERIE ROOM IN THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT OF PAUL POIRET, ONE OF THE MOST ORIGINAL OF PARISIAN COUTURIERS

Modern to the last degree, in which trellises painted on the walls serve as an effective manner of displaying the latest in "undies." (Photo by Bonney)



PLATE 16 B. MME. GROULT USES TWO MARIE LAURENCIN PAINTINGS IN HER NEW DRESS-MAKING SALON

Soft tones of new rose and grey are used in upholsteries and pillows. Mme. Groult is sister of the great artist Paul Poiret and wife of one of the most ultra-modern interior decorators. (Photo by Bonney)

customers, workrooms in which the garments are made, stock-rooms, offices of administration and accounts, and studios where the designs are made.

On entering a Paris dressmaking establishment one is first met by the *vendeuse,* who is the chief saleswoman selected for the position because of selling ability and personality, and who generally has a personal following of customers who regularly come to her wherever she may be employed. The vendeuse is in most cases assisted by a *seconde,* who is really an assistant saleswoman and who hopes in turn some day to become a head saleswoman, either in the house in which she is employed or elsewhere. It is the business of the vendeuse and the seconde to take care of the prospective customers who call.

The heads of the various work departments in the institutions are known as *premieres.* These are skilful dressmakers who know the arts of cutting and sewing and of reproducing the work of the designing department of the establishment. The premieres are also assisted by *secondes.*

Garments are shown to customers almost invariably on living models or *manikins.* The manikins are selected for their personality and ability to wear clothes to advantage and, in that way, to assist in their sale. There may be anywhere from two or three up to a dozen or more manikins in a leading dressmaking establishment, depending upon its size. The manikins work under the direction of a *directrice.* During the last few years it has come to be recognized by practically all of the leading Parisian dressmaking establishments that the manikins are much more important in effecting sales than was formerly believed to be the case, so that much more attention is now given in the selection and training of manikins than heretofore. Some of the houses go so far as to pay them a commission on the sales which are made as a result of their exhibition of the garments.

Then in the workrooms there are the *midinettes* who have

already been referred to. They are the workers who do the stitching and sewing, run the sewing machines and do the routine work.

Each establishment has its stockroom in which the stocks of fabrics, trimmings, linings, buttons, braids, laces, and so on, are kept. Fabrics and other goods are generally supplied to the leading dressmaking houses by the manufacturers on consignment. A dressmaking stockroom may contain thousands of dollars worth of goods with practically no investment whatsoever on the part of the dressmaking establishment. From the goods that are left with the dressmaker the latter prepares his models, and settlements are effected with the manufacturers of the fabrics and other materials for goods used four times a year, or at the end of each season.

Several of the leading Parisian dressmaking houses have branched out into side lines which have been found very profitable. Among these are millinery, jewelry, lingerie, handbags and perfume. Since the war, at least a dozen of the leading couture establishments have entered the perfume business, and promote the sale of perfume bearing the name of the house producing garments. These side lines naturally form departments where they exist in the couture establishments.

Finally there are the miscellaneous employees who take care of the accounting and other office work, the messenger service, the office managers, the door tenders, cleaners, watchmen, automobile starters, and so on.

The Grand Openings

The couture in Paris works with the seasons. The principal, or so-called regular openings, when most of the concerns present their largest lines of models, occur usually in February and August. Some organizations rush the seasons a bit and show their models the latter part of January or the latter part

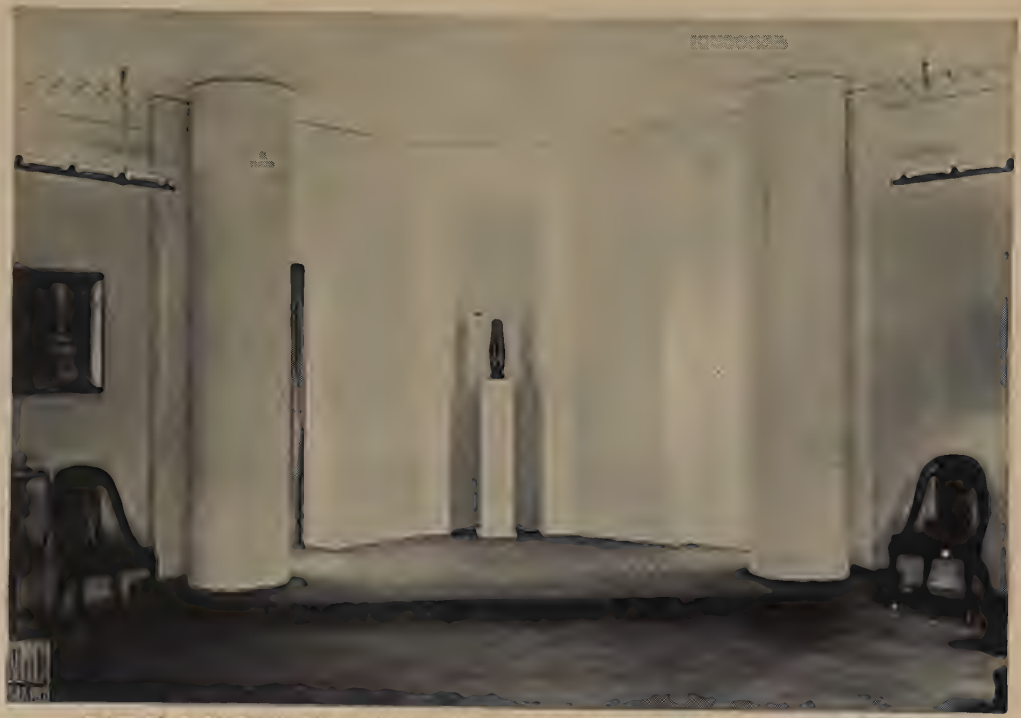


PLATE 16 C. MODERNISTIC SALON IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JANE REGNY, GREAT PARIS SPORTS WEAR CREATOR

Note entrances to stage at right and left back of pillars and the modernistic lighting. (Photo by Boissy)



PLATE 16 D. MODERN SALON IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MADELEINE VIONNET, THE GREAT PARIS DRESSMAKER

The arches, the doorways, the frieze and the entire ceiling are in glass executed by the master crystal sculptor, Lalique, and the dado panels by the modernist painter, De Feure. (Photo by Thiriet.)

of July, but most of the organizations have their showings in February and August.

Two showings a year, as indicated above, were all that were provided in the period before the war, but since 1921 it has been customary to provide new models and lesser showings at various times in between February and August or, as it is called, in mid-season, and these mid-season showings, in April or May and in October or November, have come to be more and more important.

In the millinery industry several producing establishments have dropped the grand openings of the seasons entirely and are displaying new models every week. This is in line with the tendency shown by millinery during the past several years to sell equally well in nearly all months of the year. To some extent other fashion goods are selling more or less continuously throughout the year also instead of by season, as was formerly the case.

Through the Chambre Syndicale de la Couture, arrangements are made for showings, among its members, with a view, if possible, to having only two or three concerns open each day, so that buyers from foreign countries may have every opportunity of seeing as many as possible. The formal showings or exhibitions of garments are made sometimes in the forenoon, but more usually in the afternoon and even in the evening.

The first exhibition of a line of new models in the largest concerns is now usually made to representatives of the press. This meeting constitutes something of a rehearsal. No buyers are present, but representatives of the press write up the event effectively, and in that way provide excellent publicity not only for the individual concerns but for the industry as a whole. The next formal showing or exhibition is usually to social notables, who may or may not be customers but from whom many orders may be received either at the time of the showing

or later on; and the third showing is usually held for the benefit of professional buyers who have flocked to Paris from all parts of the world, for the purpose of seeing these garments, and for the purpose of making purchases of models to take back to sell as originals, or to have them copied and to sell the replicas. Showings thereafter throughout the season are made to secure individual orders, either from consumers or late coming retail buyers.

As may be inferred, the time of opening with the Paris dressmaking house is a period of nervous tension. The showrooms are crowded, the products of the artists of the studios are to be displayed, and the success of the dressmaking house during the coming season, if not for years to come, depends of course upon the reception given to the exhibition and the number of garments actually sold.

Curious people are discouraged from coming. In some cases invitations are issued and then only after prospective visitors have agreed to make certain purchases. The groups of visitors who come to see the showings are, indeed, most carefully inspected to make sure that they do not include individual copyists who may make mental notes and then rush out after the showing to design and produce the same or similar garments at lower prices.

American Customers of Paris Couturiers

Naturally, the largest part of the business of the Paris dressmaking houses comes from individual customers in Paris or France, consisting of French women, or of women who are temporarily or permanently residing in France. English women have also been excellent customers of the Paris dressmakers and in financial volume of sales come next to the French themselves. Buyers from the United States probably rank third in volume of purchases.

Among the professional buyers from the United States, one will find garment manufacturers who buy models for the express purpose of copying and reproduction. For this purpose many manufacturers send representatives to Paris from two to four times a year to purchase models in fairly large numbers.

Then there are the professional buyers of retail stores from all of the leading cities in the country who regularly go abroad, usually twice a year and sometimes oftener. Garments purchased by professional buyers are used in several ways. In some cases they are bought for resale as a commercial proposition, but with little hope of getting a direct profit from the transaction. The whole transaction is usually looked upon as a prestige-building and advertising matter. The purchase of Paris models by retail stores for the purpose of reproduction in cheaper garments has grown to considerable proportions during the last few years, so that one may go into retail stores that follow this plan and purchase the original if she wishes at a high price or replicas which look much the same at half or less the price of the original.

Finally, there is the importer of garments who brings in models to this country for resale and often for the purpose of renting to smaller garment manufacturers for copying. In some cases the same model may be rented in succession to several manufacturers.

The copying of Paris models is a highly developed, even if unethical, procedure. In addition to the reproductions made by manufacturers from models purchased directly in Paris for the purpose by retailers who likewise purchase models for the purpose, and by manufacturers who rent models from importers, there is a very sizable business transacted by retail store buyers who buy models abroad, but who rent them for brief periods to manufacturers in New York before sending them on to their retail stores for display and sale. There is also an

important business of importing models for reproduction and then re-exporting the models to other countries, even to Europe, and thereby securing a rebate of the American tariff which, on lace-trimmed or embroidered goods, runs 90% of the value of the merchandise.

CHAPTER XI

THE PARIS CREATORS OF APPAREL STYLE

For the most part, the most representative and best known style creators are truly artists. Most of them have had artistic education and are thorough students of art. Though there are some exceptions, the head of the concern is usually the chief designer. While most of the largest concerns are organized as corporations, they are essentially one-man or one-woman affairs. The art and the product are associated in the minds of the purchasers and users with the personality of the designer and head of the institution.

It is not possible here to present anything like a complete list of all of the important couturiers in Paris, but a brief description of a few of the concerns best known may be helpful to a better understanding of the group as a whole and of the reasons for their success in the field of style.

It should be added that experienced apparel specialists, whether manufacturers, stylists or buyers, develop with time an ability to recognize almost at a glance the productions of the leading couturiers, no matter where they are worn or by whom. Thus an expert buyer of some department or specialty store, after long experience in buying and selling fashion goods, can usually designate, among the garments worn at a public function or gathering place, those made by Parisian dressmaking establishments, and even by whom. While all of the Paris dressmakers more or less follow the fashion—they must of necessity follow the fashions in order to be successful in their sales—there are however, individual artistic touches, distinctive treatments, characteristic lines of design and marks of workmanship by which the garment may be distinguished by

those who know. In the following paragraphs the attempt will be made to set down some of the outstanding facts concerning a few of the leading concerns and a few suggestions on the characteristics of their products.

Worth

The house of Worth was founded in 1858 by Charles Frederick Worth, an Englishman born in 1825 who had served his apprenticeship in the retail store, Swan & Edgar, in London. In 1846, Charles Worth went to Paris, and for twelve years was employed as a salesman and general assistant in the service of a retail silk house, named Gagelin's. In 1858, he left Gagelin's and formed a partnership that continued down to 1870 with a Swede named Bobergh and engaged in the ladies' tailoring business. Their establishment was the first to be located in the Rue de la Paix, that street now famous the world over for its distinguished couture shops.

It was in the period from 1858 down to 1870 that Worth came into great prominence as a couturier. Louis Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie, the French rulers at the time, were extremely ambitious to make the French court the most brilliant in the world. Every effort was expended to rival even the glories of the eighteenth century France. Great emphasis was placed on style not only in apparel, but also in furnishings and architecture.

Worth gained Princess Metternich, wife of the Austrian Ambassador to the court of France and a very famous and fashionable woman, as one of his first customers and through Comtesse de Pourtalès was introduced to Empress Eugénie in 1859, who after some hesitation gave a large part of the royal custom to his concern. By the clever art of Bobergh and perhaps still more clever promotion of Worth, the prestige of the house of Worth spread rapidly among the great women not

only of Paris but of all the capitals and fashion centers of the world. Bobergh retired from the firm in 1870, after the Franco-Prussian War, and Worth continued the business with the help of his two sons down to the time of his death in 1895.

Worth is credited with several innovations that became important in fashion. While employed by Gagelin he devised a "manteau de cour," a court mantle of antique watered silk embroidered in gold, which became the royal fashion. According to his son, Jean Philippe Worth, he was responsible for interesting the Empress and the Emperor in patronizing Lyons silks which had languished for years prior to the 50's, but which became very popular in the 60's. About 1860, he adopted the crinoline, an Englishman's invention, a great improvement in that it made unnecessary the great many skirts formerly used to secure what was thought to be seemly bouffancy. The crinoline secured the spread of skirts by whalebone and steel, making a much lighter and more comfortable load to carry. During the later 60's, Worth invented the gored skirt that fitted snugly at the waist and over the hips and flared at the bottom. Also in the latter 60's, the house of Worth began to use the services of living models or manikins, although the practice later died out and apparently was not revived until the early 1900's and then by Lucille in London.

The house of Worth has enjoyed remarkable success for three generations. This fact, it is believed, is unprecedented in the couture profession. Jean Philippe Worth, one of Charles F. Worth's sons, possessed great ability as a designer and had been trained, among other artists, by the painter, Corot. The great Italian tragedienne, Eleonora Duse, attributed much of her dramatic success to the beautiful gowns designed for her by Jean Philippe. Other famous actresses and singers looked to him for their costumes. The house of Worth is now managed by two grandsons of Charles Frederick, Jean Charles

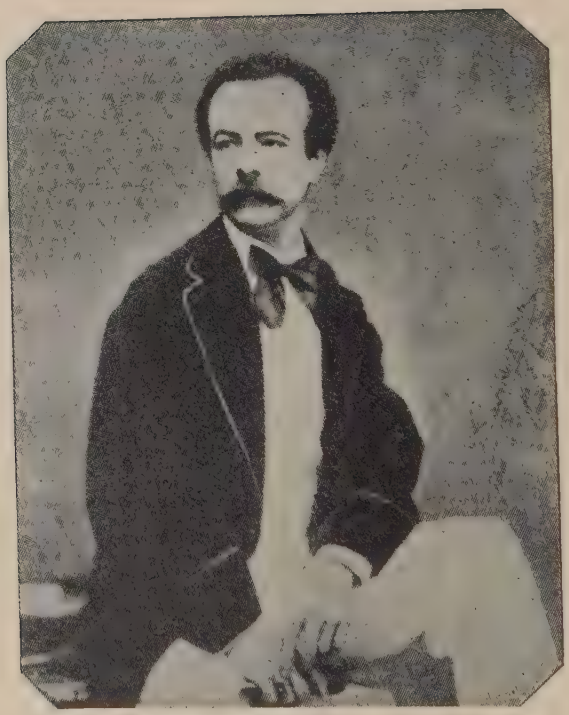


PLATE 16. CHARLES FREDERICK WORTH—FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF WORTH, PARIS, 1858

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and Jacques. Jacques Worth, the business manager, is well educated, an artist, a connoisseur, a sportsman, a famous and witty orator, as well as the capable manager of the business. The house of Worth has always had a reputation for catering to royalty, noble families, the aristocracy, famous actresses and the very wealthy. For years it has given special attention to the garment requirements of women who were to be presented at European courts, particularly the Court of St. James in England.



PLATE 17. M. JACQUES WORTH—PRESENT BUSINESS HEAD OF THE HOUSE OF WORTH
By courtesy of *Fairchild's International Magazine.*

The styles produced by Worth have generally been gorgeous, regal, stately garments in which there has been much use of metal tissues, brocades, fine embroideries, laces and long sweeping draperies. The house of Worth even today is noted for its fine bridal garments and other apparel for ceremonial wear.

Through the changing fashions of the last seventy-five years, the crinoline, the bustles, the leg-o'mutton sleeves, the straight front, the hobble, the barrel, and the straight silhouettes, the house of Worth has been able to adjust its art and production so as to keep in the forefront of the couture profession. It is probably the oldest couture concern in the world but at the same time is now one of the most active and effective.

Paquin

Beginning in the 90's and continuing down to the period of the World War, the house of Paquin was the leading couture establishment in Paris. M. Isador Paquin began his business life as an obscure clerk in the Paris Bourse. Madame Paquin had been trained in sewing and designing in Rouff's, a well-known couture establishment during the 70's and 80's. They were married about 1891 and were shortly afterwards set up in business in a good location by a wealthy patron. Paquin and his gifted wife came nearer being dictators of fashion than any other creator of styles in the last hundred years. Paquin's early prominence grew out of daring sponsorship of simple, youthful garments, in opposition to the heavy sleeves and bulk of the garments of the 90's. The house of Paquin developed and helped to popularize the hobble skirts of 1908-9 and the sheath and directoire gowns of 1910-12. After M. Paquin's death in 1907, Mme. Paquin continued in charge of the business down to the period of the World War. The establishment is still in existence, but the ownership of the firm is in English hands under a director named M. Clement.

Paquin's establishment has always been highly important in the production of fine apparel for the social leaders of Paris. While Worth's directed its efforts to nobility and aristocracy, Paquin democratized fashion and made it available for masses of wealthy women formerly not participating in the main currents. Paquin was probably the first to make a business of selling in a large way to department stores and to wholesalers for resale to dealers. Paquin also developed a considerable export trade and sold models for reproduction.

The house of Paquin also profited by being on the right side in its estimation of the influence of futuristic art on fashion in the period from 1910 down to 1914. Paquin was one of the first to employ the modern art as exemplified in the



PLATE 18. MADAME PAQUIN—THE GENIUS OF THE PARIS DRESSMAKING INDUSTRY, 1891–1915

By courtesy of *Nugent's Garment Weekly.*

Russian ballet. Bakst, the Russian painter, was employed to design gowns in 1914 and 1915. The house of Paquin has always been famous for its combination of velvet and satin in evening garments.

Callot Soeurs

Mme. Gervaise and Mme. Regina, the Callot sisters, entered the Paris dressmaking field in the early nineties and have maintained an exceedingly successful business of very high

standard ever since. They came from Provence and began as seamstresses, and later became dressmakers for the most exclusive and particular families of Paris.

Both are now dead. The house is continued under the same name under the direction of a son of one of the sisters, M. Pierre Gerber, and his wife. The work of the house of Callot Soeurs has been marked by daring and original designs, sometimes quite extreme and theatrical, both in line and coloring as well as in combinations of unusual fabrics. The house of Callot was one of the first to aim at making garments serve as frames for feminine charm rather than as works of art in themselves as dress formerly seems to have been. They were the first creators of the straight sheath gown and among the first users of soft neutral colorings in the period following the World War. Callot Soeurs have drawn heavily for their artistic inspirations from the Orient, particularly from China and Japan following the period of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-5.

This organization has been one that has almost continuously fought the evil of copying by every practical device. Callot Soeurs are almost always represented in French courts by prosecutions against style pirates. Their clientele was largely made up of private customers up to 1915. It was then that they began to permit professional buyers to see their lines and to make purchases for reproduction. It is yet, however, one of the hardest institutions for the representatives of manufacturers or the professional buyer to visit, although products of their skill are among the most interesting and desirable of any house in Paris.

Poiret

Paul Poiret, one of the best known and longest established couturiers in Paris, is at the same time one of the most pic-

turesque and striking personal figures in the art world. Poiret's early training in couture began with employment with Doucet at the age of 17. Later he became associated with Worth's as a designer. Worth employed him to give newness to their line and to help secure a more popular appeal, such as enjoyed by Paquin in the later 90's. In 1903, Poiret set up in business for himself. He quickly achieved success and reputation for his originality in design, striking color combinations and daring in defying the accepted fashions of those days. By 1909 he had attained considerable fame not only in France but abroad as well. During this year, Mrs. Asquith, wife of the Prime Minister of England, invited Poiret to hold an exhibition of his creations in her home in Downing Street, London. He brought about a hundred models over from Paris, and the exhibition aroused the most intense interest. Poiret followed this event by seasonal exhibitions thereafter down to 1914 and the opening of the war.

During the war Poiret was called to the French colors and his couture establishment was turned into a factory for making shirts for French soldiers. He was released from service in February, 1919, spent some time in Morocco for his health and came back to reestablish his couture business in June of that year.

Paul Poiret has visited America several times, and at the time of writing this there is a report, made several times before and as early as 1914, to the effect that he plans to establish a dressmaking establishment in the United States. He speaks English very well and is something of an author, a public lecturer, a musician, an interior decorator and artist as well as designer of women's clothing. "Martine's," a specialty shop in Paris, said to be owned by Poiret, contains nothing but what has been designed by Poiret, including glassware, lamps, rugs, furniture, draperies, wall decorations and so on. Poiret also conducts an interesting school for designers in which he

applies original educational ideas not only in training dress-making design, but also design for textiles, laces and embroideries.

Poiret's success rose with his advocacy of more simple and more comfortable dress in the early 1900's. His designs have

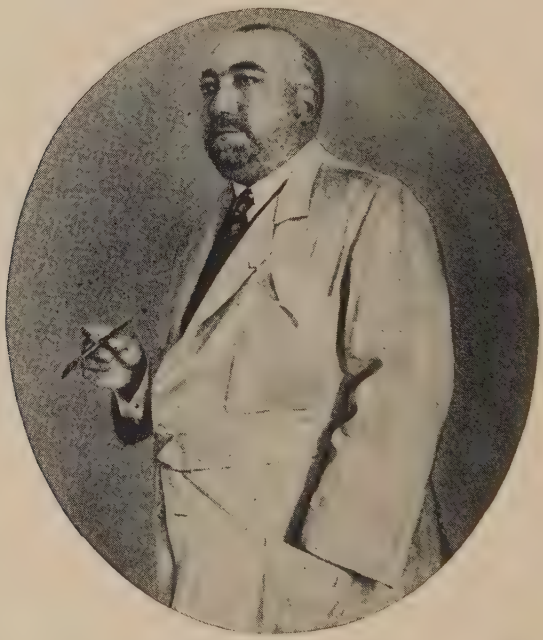


PLATE 19. M. PAUL POIRET—FAMOUS PARIS COUTURIER AND VERSATILE GENIUS

By courtesy of *Fairchild's International Magazine.*

always been characterized by original, striking use of color combinations, as well as unusual lines.

Paul Poiret was one of the first in Paris to express the Oriental influence which originated with the Russo-Japanese war in 1904-5. Since then, both Russian and Oriental motifs have entered very largely and frequently into his designs.

Poiret may be credited with several highly successful fashions, including the peasant type of blouse that became popular in 1912 and 1913, and the minaret or lampshade gown of 1913-14. To the buyer or visitor in the showrooms of manufacturers who wonders how the manikins ever acquired the queer poses and method of undulating rather than walking about the room when exhibiting garments, it seems that Paul Poiret was the first to introduce this method to his manikins, including the floating gait, the extended arms, the drooping hands and listless fingers.

Poiret's sister, Nicole Groult, is also a capable Paris couturier.

Lucille, Ltd.

Lady Duff Gordon, known to the trade as Lucille, Ltd., is one of the older couturiers. She first established a business in London and then later in Paris. Still later, just prior to the opening of the World War, she also had an establishment in New York. The London organization has always been the most important.

Lady Duff Gordon, a sister of Elinor Glyn, was born in Toronto. Her maiden name was Lucy Sutherland. While still in her teens, she was taken to London by her widowed mother and enjoyed a somewhat brilliant social success, but because of limited means took up professional dressmaking. Her venture met with great success in London. Later establishments of branches in Paris and New York did not work out so well. The Paris branch was conducted down to the opening of the war by Molyneux, an Englishman with a French name. Molyneux entered the British Army in 1914, became a captain, and after the war came back to Paris and established a dressmaking establishment of his own.

Lady Duff Gordon has for many years been before the

American public because of her syndicated articles on current fashions and sponsorship of promotion of certain trade-marked articles.

Her work has been marked by originality in sales promotion as well as artistic effects in apparel. It is said that her organization was the first of the present couturiers to use manikins or living models, beginning in the early 1900's, and was also the first to revive the use of fanciful names for garments which had been much in vogue in the 30's but had passed out prior to her introduction of this practice.

Redfern

Redfern, another of the older couturiers of Paris, was established by an Englishman from the Isle of Wight. Redfern, Worth, Rouff, and Paquin were the leading establishments in Paris during the period from 1890 down to 1905. Redfern's patronage consisted largely of the members of noble and aristocratic families. For years a large part of the patronage of Princess and later Queen Alexandra of England came to this house. Since 1920 the character of this house has greatly changed in line with the fashion requirements. New designers have been employed, and while



PLATE 19 A. REDFERN

the house of Redfern was superseded for a time by the younger stars in the couture field, it is again enjoying success as one of the leading Paris establishments under the directorship of Robert Piquet, a designer trained by Poiret. For a period before the World War, Redfern attempted to conduct a complete dressmaking unit in New York, but it is reported that this failed financially. The present company is owned by English interests.

Lanvin

Jeanne Lanvin, one of the most daring innovators of style, began as an independent owner of a couture establishment in

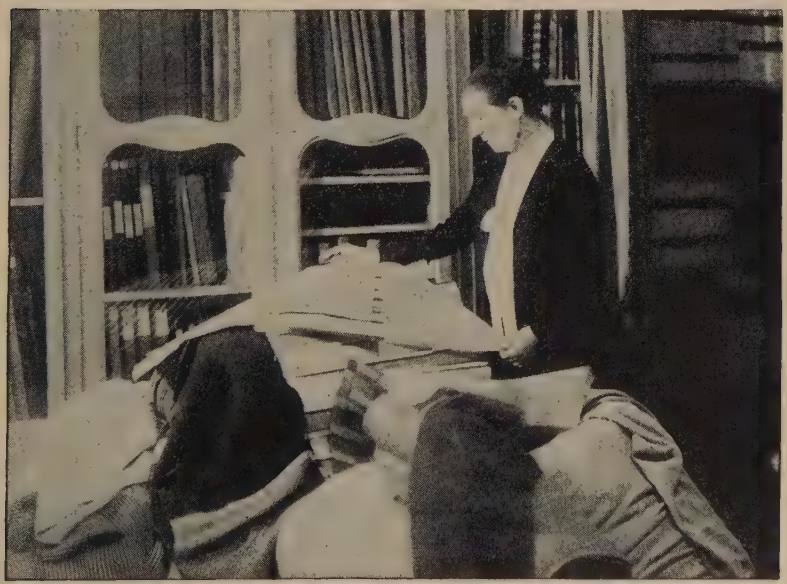


PLATE 19 B. MME. JEANNE LANVIN

Paris in 1902, after an apprenticeship and training in other houses beginning in millinery in the latter 80's. It is said that

her work as a designer first came to notice through a dress that she made for her young daughter which attracted so much attention that she was virtually urged into the designing and couture business.

Jeanne Lanvin's productions are the products of her own design. She is the sole designer in her own establishment. She seems to be very fond of organdy and frequently uses black and white. Her work is characterized by highly artistic effects and her new lines of models for every season include robes de style, picturesque bouffant frocks, much use of taffeta, filmy black net, bertha collars, long bodices, and so on. It has been stated that, while Lanvin lives, the bouffant mode will never die. She is also a very successful designer of sports apparel of the type of "spectator sports." Jeanne Lanvin is the dressmaker par excellence to French women. She also enjoys a very large trade with South American customers, particularly from the Argentine. She has a successful branch in Buenos Aires.

In addition to her work in the couture, Mme. Lanvin conducts a successful men's tailoring shop—the first by a woman dressmaker—and she is also an interior decorator much in demand for theatrical scenes and for fine homes. She is one of the few French women who has been honored by appointment as a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur.

Vionnet

Vionnet, one of the stars of the couture of Paris, began as a cutter and fitter before she became a designer. Her work is characterized by wonderful cut and fit. Garments made by Vionnet fit the body marvelously well. Even her competitors describe her as a magic cutter. She never uses linings and avoids gathers except for decorative purposes. Her garments

are exceedingly difficult to copy because of unexpected darts and seams that help to produce the dress effects.

Vionnet's establishment is one of the most imposing and impressive in Paris. Her showroom is a grand salon, a wonderfully scenic background for the garments that she produces and exhibits to her customers. The ceiling and doors are of Lalique glass, the walls are covered with figures of heroic size women dressed in Vionnet fashions. The furniture is modernistic and very inviting. The carpets are modernistic in design in white, black and gray.

Vionnet has, in common with other leading Paris dressmakers, fought very hard to prevent copying. Among the various devices used, Vionnet puts her own personal finger print on every label and every gown that leaves her establishment to assure her customers that the garments purchased are originals.

Lucien Lelong

Lucien Lelong is perhaps the best representative of the modern business spirit in the Paris couture. Lelong is a very wide-awake business man as well as an artist. He is a graduate of Oxford University, and although physically not a large man he is an athlete as well as an accomplished man of the world.

In his shop Lelong has introduced the best practices of modern scientific management, the efficient use of power, the organization and division of labor, proper lighting, provisions for safety of employees, and even time and motion studies.

Unlike most of the other leading Paris houses, the existence of Lelong's business does not depend upon the genius of one designer. Lelong employs several, nor does any one of these designers dominate. What is to be presented at any opening is the result of a consensus of taste rather than the final word of some individual. Dress from this establishment is wear-

able and modern but never sensational. For several seasons Lelong promoted what he called the "kinetic silhouette," garments made with a view to pleasing appearance while the wearer is in motion. His chief lines are in sports and afternoon dresses as well as evening wear. In company with several other couturiers, Lelong conducts a large accessory business including perfumes.



PLATE 20. M. LUCIEN LELONG—REPRESENTATIVE OF MODERN BUSINESS SPIRIT IN PARIS DRESSMAKING INDUSTRY

Lelong's institution is one of the largest in Paris. It is one of the few Paris skyscrapers. It is nine stories high. He produces more than a thousand models a year and caters to buyers and manufacturers for quantity production. Lelong's house is one of the most popular for visiting buyers from America.

In the selling of his product, Lelong's institution has given a great deal of attention to proper presentation. All models are shown on a specially prepared stage and always under artificial light. For sport and outdoor garments a lighting system is provided which very closely approximates day lighting, but for evening wear the typical effect of artificial lights is provided. This lighting system has been



PLATE 20A. A CORNER OF THE LELONG ESTABLISHMENT IN PARIS

worked out so as to show the garment to the very best advantage.

Chanel

Gabrielle Chanel, one of the younger designers and couturiers, has come into strong prominence since 1920. Chanel has led in offering the utmost of simplicity of line, guided by good taste. She was the first to offer the straight line garments in Paris. She was likewise one of the first of the great dressmakers in the sports field.

Chanel does all of her own designing and her work may be recognized by the typical straight, short silhouette which has made her famous. She never uses kimono sleeves, nor does she ever cut her goods on the bias. Her garments are never shapeless and they are always comfortable and easy to wear. She frequently uses Russian embroideries in her productions. Madame Chanel is of Basque origin. She possesses a striking personality and exemplifies her good taste in the garments that she herself wears. There is an accessory and perfume shop in connection with her establishment.

Premet

Mme. Charlotte, the active head of the dressmaking establishment known as Premet, is herself one of the most beautiful and picturesque women in Paris. She is described as typically Parisienne. The house of Premet is noted for its production of youthful necklines and youthful garments, styles that help youth to make the most of its appearance and that help older women to look youthful. One of the styles, created by this house in 1923, named Le Garçonne, after Victor Margueritte's novel, Le Garçonne, was exceedingly successful. It has been estimated that more than a million women throughout the



PLATE 21. MADAME GABRIELLE CHANEL
By courtesy of *Harper's Bazar*.

world have worn the Garçonne dress, although the house of Premet produced only about 1,000 of them. The rest were copies in one form or another.

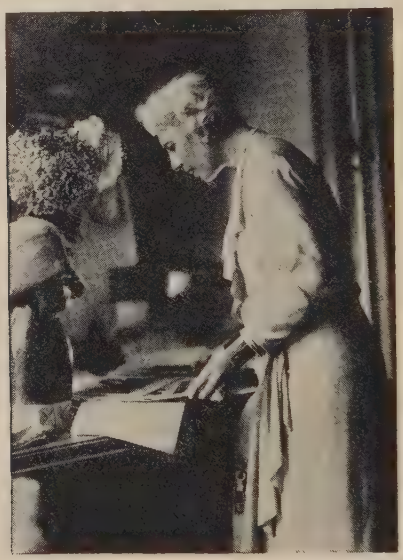


PLATE 21A. MME. CHARLOTTE, DIRECTRICE DE MAISON PREMET

Patou

Jean Patou is one of the most recent comers in the field of Paris couture. Before the war he served as a designer in several leading houses. After war service, he came back and established his present business in 1919, and with consummate nerve he set out at once to serve the women of greatest wealth and style. Jean Patou has been exceedingly popular with American women. He has produced the garments for many American actresses as well as wealthy leisure class women visiting France. In order to fit the American needs more closely, Patou has visited this country often and has gone so

far as to import American manikins to help show his models in his Paris establishment. In line with the principal fashion trend since 1919, Patou has made his success by producing



PLATE 22. M. PATOU
By courtesy of *Harper's Bazar*.

straight line, youthful, boyish garments. Since the beginning of 1928 he has urged more feminine style particularly in smart afternoon and evening apparel. He was one of the first of the Parisian couturiers to establish a sports wear department.

Patou is an exceedingly clever advertiser. He frequently holds great entertainments and conveys to the breathless consuming feminine world a great deal of atmosphere and personality.

Like Lelong, Patou has introduced modern methods in his workshop. It is reported that he pays higher wages to his workers than do the others and, among his innovations, he was one of the first to pay bonuses to manikins based on the sales of the garments that they show to customers. He has also used the piece-work method of remuneration to a greater extent perhaps than most of the others.

CHAPTER XII

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN FASHIONS

It is very difficult to state when any fashion started or when it ended for the reason that its beginnings are almost always overlapped by preceding fashions and its endings gradually lost in oncoming fashion waves. Attempts to fix dates of fashion movements are as a rule highly arbitrary.

For example, the fashion tendency to shorten skirts which became very noticeable in 1920 seems to have begun more than twenty-five years before. It was the fashionable use of the bicycle back in 1895 that introduced or forced the first shortening of skirts in the last era. From bicycle costumes there came the development of comfortable walking skirts. By very gradual degrees but with considerable variations up and down, skirts for walking and outdoor sports grew shorter, so that by 1902 they generally cleared the ground. But it was not until the period of the World War and, more particularly, not until after the World War that they began the shortening trend upward to the knee. Obviously, it would be very difficult to set any particular date between 1895 and 1920 as a specific starting time of this fashion. The same may be said of nearly every other fashion.

It is likewise very difficult to set specific dates of beginning and ending of fashion eras, particularly in modern times. When fashions originated with kings and queens, as it seems possible that they once did, it was easy to state that certain fashions began and ended with a monarch's reign. Assuming for the time being the correctness of this view of relating fashions to periods of reign of kings and queens in past his-

tory, it is clearly different now. Probably no reigning monarch in modern times has had the power either of starting or stopping fashion movements. Nor is it easy to find any method by which fashion dates may be definitely set.

One must generally look to the social and economic history of a people to find the origins of fashion movements. In social life, in the manner of living, each period almost imperceptibly dissolves and forms a part of the next. Boundary lines are hardly ever clear. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to trace the beginnings of modern fashion, but the cautions just mentioned should be kept in mind. The best that can be offered here is a more or less arbitrary point of view.

Modern Fashions Began in Latter Part of Eighteenth Century

Probably the latter part of the eighteenth century may fairly be considered as the beginning of modern fashions. Several events of great historical significance near the close of the eighteenth century helped to bring about a change in social as well as economic life, including even a change in the philosophy of life. Among these may be mentioned the Revolution of the American Colonies and the establishment of the United States separate from the mother country, England. The theory of government enunciated in the American Declaration of Independence excited very wide interest. Perhaps most important of all was the industrial revolution beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century and growing in importance down through most of the nineteenth century, by which hand production was largely superseded by machine production, the application of power, the great extension of invention to the production of the necessities of life, so that they became available at much less cost than formerly, and the accompany-

ing rise in standards of living of great masses of people who had formerly enjoyed but little more than bare subsistence.

Another reason for selecting the latter part of the eighteenth century as the time of the beginning of modern fashions is the development that began then in improvement in means of transportation. Up to 1850 there had been but very little change in means of travel either by land or water for hundreds of years. Sailing vessels crossed the seas, people traveled by horseback or by coach on land. During the latter part of the eighteenth century various types of new carriages came into existence. Further development took place in the nineteenth century, not only in horse-drawn carriages, but also by the invention of the steamboat and the application of steam to land transportation on railways, and finally the invention of the automobile in the latter part of the nineteenth century and its remarkable development during the first twenty-five years of the twentieth century. The story of the development of transportation, the inventions and improvements in transportation and the application of design and creation of new styles, followed by fashions in transportation vehicles, is one of the most interesting and romantic chapters in modern life. The consequences of the improvements in transportation and the adoption of innovations in means of transportation have been exceedingly far-reaching, for they have in turn influenced the adoption of other fashions of widespread effect touching all of the arts of life, including clothing, food, homes, manners and in fact the entire standards of living.

The growth in belief in political democracy and opening of vast economic opportunities for wealth getting and increased consumption led to an unprecedented struggle of great masses of mankind to rise from their former levels. Out of these conditions there grew changes in fashion affecting all of the arts including architecture, interior decoration, furniture and clothing for both men and women.

Applied Art in Eighteenth Century Crafts

During the eighteenth century the people of wealth and position of western nations had enjoyed the products of the highest and finest craftsmanship that the world had ever known in articles of furniture and interior decoration. The new era of application of power and machine production threw the old handcrafts out of existence. Machine production made goods available for the masses at low cost but could not for more than a hundred years produce anything of such artistic merit as had been produced by the hand craftsmen of the eighteenth century. Not until the twentieth century were there real beginnings in the application of art to machine-made furniture which might be considered as worthy of the test of time. In the meantime furniture design passed from the high and bright artistic levels of the eighteenth century through dark valleys of decadence during the nineteenth century. There has again occurred a gradual rise with even the promise that eighteenth century standards may again be reached, if not surpassed, during the twentieth century.

Revolutionary Changes in Fashions

The gigantic cycle in design of men's apparel traversed during the nineteenth century began in the latter part of the eighteenth century and completed its movement in the early part of the twentieth century. From the gorgeous, colorful and artistic apparel worn by men during the eighteenth century, there evolved a complete change in type of apparel, as for example, from knee breeches to long trousers, from bright, vivid colors to dark fabrics for clothing, and from long decades of uncomfortable head gear down to the soft felt and panama hats, ending with considerable promise and fine artistic per-

ception in fit and line at the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century.

During the same period of time, women's apparel has likewise undergone revolutionary change, perhaps even more distinct than those which occurred in the field of interior decoration and in men's apparel.

Prior to the nineteenth century, interest in fashion, while in every way as keen as it has been at any time since, of necessity affected but a small percentage of the population, namely, those who could afford to indulge in consumption of goods in which fashion was a factor. For the most part this meant the nobility, the aristocracy, and a few people of wealth. During the nineteenth century the increases in wages and other forms of income were so general that, in almost every ten-year period throughout the century, large additional groups of people were enabled to expand their standards of living beyond the bare subsistence levels to which their ancestors had always been accustomed, the new levels of consumption permitting interest in style and fashion. One of the most characteristic changes of the nineteenth century was the general rise in the standard of living and the extension of the field of fashion influence. While the courts of kings and halls of aristocracy had formerly thrilled with the changes in fashion, during the last hundred years the masses of common people had come to have a part in this feeling.

Largely for convenience, the period of modern fashion may be said to have begun with the year 1789, the date of the French Revolution. As already suggested, any date set as a beginning of any fashion movement must of necessity be arbitrary and this is as true of this date as any other that might be selected. However, the French Revolution did mark the end of a political period in France, a country which had for more than a hundred years led the rest of the world in practically all fashion interest. The political revolution was ac-

companied by important industrial and social changes which, while not so abrupt as the political event, helped to bring about important changes in social life and in styles affecting the arts.

It would be a mistake, however, to think that the styles generally termed Louis XVI styles from the King of France ruling at the time of the French Revolution, ceased to exist when he was deposed and that new styles came immediately into fashion. Louis XVI styles had, in fact, already begun to decline several years before the political revolution took place, and did not pass out entirely for probably from ten to twenty years after the time of the revolution. Moreover, Louis XVI styles were not confined exclusively to France. They were followed in all other western nations as well. So, while the French Revolution sharply marked a turning-point in the political history of France, it made a smaller immediate difference in the social life and fashion in Europe as a whole than is commonly supposed.

Fashions Prior to the French Revolution

Fashions prior to the French Revolution, both in France and in other western countries, had developed and expressed in a multitude of ways the ripened styles of the period of the later renaissance. The renaissance had started in Italy and it became decadent first in Italy. Renaissance arts in the decadent period of the seventeenth century were known in Italy as Baroque. During the early part of the eighteenth century the Baroque art was carried to France and from thence spread to all parts of the world under the general designation of Rococo art. During the seventeenth century, France looked to the Italian cities for artistic and fashion inspiration. During the eighteenth century the Italian cities had become followers of Paris as had all other western nations including England, Spain, Germany, Austria, the Scandinavian countries, and

even Russia. The colonies in America were also influenced by the French styles of the eighteenth century, but prior to 1776 drew indirectly on England for inspiration rather than directly from France. Following the Revolutionary War in America, the American colonies became direct followers of French artistic fashion.

While France led the western world in its fashions, each country developed its own modifications and in some instances the modifications were more brilliant and became more influential than the original French models. This was especially true of furniture which, while inspired by the artistic example of France, was developed to high planes of taste during the eighteenth century in England by Chippendale, Heppelwhite, Sheraton and the Adam Brothers together with their followers. The colonial furniture of America quite naturally followed the style inspiration of the mother country and represented modifications of British eighteenth century furniture rather than the direct imitation of the products of the cabinet makers and interior decorators of the periods of Louis XV and Louis XVI of France. Furniture and interior decoration expressive of the spirit of the period but distinctively American also appeared. Duncan Phyffe is the best known of the American craftsman artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

French art during the eighteenth century reached a type of perfection, particularly in ornament, never before nor since equaled. In color, line and decoration this art, whether applied in furnishings or apparel, was superb. It, however, took the direction of artificiality and separation from practical use which has subjected it to much criticism by later artists. The English and American adaptations have generally maintained a closer relationship between art and utility but have probably not reached such heights of sheer beauty.

In the apparel fashions during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, the clothing of both men and women

might be characterized as gorgeous plumage, rich in its use of materials and colors, highly artistic, but at the same time artificial and unsuited to practical use. Both men and women wore silk, velvet, embroidery and laces. Both men and women indulged in apparel of vivid color. Both were profuse in the use of jewelry, paint, powder and sachet. Both sexes developed a highly technical and futile technique in the handling and use of their handkerchiefs. Both sexes wore muffs and took snuff. There was a striking similarity of men's and women's clothing in many respects. After the French Revolution the apparel of the two sexes began a differentiation extending more than a hundred years. Since the opening of the twentieth century there has again been a tendency for the apparel of men and women to become somewhat similar, largely due to the movement of women to imitate the apparel of men. Fashion changes for both sexes were exceedingly frequent. The cost of apparel, as one may judge from the materials out of which apparel was constructed, ran very high.

It is easy to understand what a very small proportion of the total population in France or any other country could indulge in their desire to be fashionable. The masses of common people of the working classes had no part in these fashions. Their apparel was generally of the simplest and coarsest kind of materials. Leather breeches and even leather shirts were worn by men, garments made of coarse homespun and woven fabrics served for women and children, wooden shoes and occasional heavy leather shoes—these constituted the apparel for the masses.

An important fact to be noted about the styles of the eighteenth century prior to 1789, was their general harmony with each other and their surroundings. One cannot help but be impressed when studying the pictures and descriptions depicting the life of the times that the costumes worn by the people seem to fit in well with the types of furniture, the home



PLATE 23. COSTUMES OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN, 1780
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 24. LADY IN HOOP SKIRT, 1780
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

furnishings, the architecture and social life of the time. While there was a great deal of opportunity for expression of individuality in selection of colors, fabrics, types of ornaments and so forth, the general scheme of apparel decoration formed a distinct part of the life of the people. As one visits the ornate salons of the still existing dwelling houses built at that time and notes the furnishings, the draperies, the gilt and tinsel, one almost expects to meet people dressed in the styles of Pompadour, Du Barry, or Marie Antoinette. Modern dress does not fit in well with Louis XV decoration and furniture.

Fashion Leaders During the Eighteenth Century

The leaders of fashion during the eighteenth century prior to the French Revolution were the kings of the court of France and their queens or mistresses. *Louis XIV,* the grand monarch who ruled France from 1661 to 1715, had decided faults, but he had an ambition to make France the greatest nation of the earth not only in a military and political way, but also in the fine and useful arts. His ministers were interested in the development of art and industry of France and while there were many setbacks, generally due to his ambitious military policies, French industry grew and thrived during his long reign, and not the least of these industries were those catering to style and fashion. Louis XIV's dominant personality was such that he influenced the imitation of himself by his male subjects. The fashions of women at the time were generally set by his mistresses. The brilliance of his court and its achievements attracted the attention, admiration and imitation of the western world.

Louis XV, following Louis XIV, continued Louis XIV's policies of the development of the arts and industries of France. Though not possessing nearly the strength of character or energy of his predecessor, he still remained the leader

of fashion for the men of France and maintained a court which in its brilliance compelled the interest and admiration of all other royal courts of Europe. A succession of famous mistresses of the king, including Epinay, Pompadour and Du Barry, ambitious to climb and to shine in the social life of the French court, helped to emphasize the interest in fashion in apparel as well as in all arts contributing thereto, such as the lace and embroidery industries, jewelry, china, silverware, tapestries, ribbons, silks, velvets, and so forth.

Louis XVI, who followed Louis XV, appears to have lacked most of the qualities desirable in a ruler. He was dull, stupid, easy-going, careless and helpless. The customs of the French court established through previous reigns still continued to make him the nominal head of art and fashion as well as of the political government but with less actual influence than had been the case under Louis XV or more particularly Louis XIV. Louis XVI, however, shared his throne with a queen whose interest in fashion was the most predominant activity of a large part of her life. Marie Antoinette brought the eighteenth century styles to a climax, and in her time these styles began to decline in favor of others beginning the modern era.

Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, wife of Louis XVI, came from the court of Austria as a young, lively, fun-loving girl. Her education had been neglected, she was decidedly ignorant on most subjects, and it was not certain that she could even read or write when she became Queen of France. She loved to sing and dance, but some of her critics have asserted that she could not sing in key and was not able to keep step in dancing. She was fond of masquerades and of the theater. She was ambitious to become an actress. She organized innumerable amateur theatrical performances in which she gave herself leading parts and to which audiences were obtained with difficulty until officers of the court hit upon the happy suggestion of requiring the attendance of the Swiss



PLATE 25. QUEEN MARIE ANTOINETTE—THE LAST ROYAL DICTATOR OF FASHIONS

From "Rose Bertin," by Émile Langlade. Courtesy of Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

guards who served as the military and personal escort of the King and Queen and who, presumably, when ordered to do so, could not by any excuse stay away from these theatricals arranged by the Queen.

At another period, Marie Antoinette, who chose to spend most of her time at the Trianon in Versailles rather than Paris, organized her community of court ladies, women-in-waiting and servants into a community of make-believe peasants who acted and dressed the part of milkmaids and shepherdesses. Every new activity of the Queen brought with it new opportunities for dressing up, and the whims of the Queen in these respects were followed by the ladies of the court and by the world outside as the fashion of the hour.

Marie Antoinette was not exactly beautiful according to the standards of her time or even, if one may judge by pictures, according to present-day standards, but she was vivacious and could be charming to her associates when she wanted to be. Her mercurial disposition caused her to flit from one thing to another, to become easily bored and to take an irresponsible attitude toward the affairs of life. There was little if anything that she ever tried to do that she could do well, but she did possess a flair for wearing clothing and millinery. She had a natural grace of manner and movement which became her well in practically all sorts of apparel.

Probably a modern psychologist would have characterized Marie Antoinette as a woman with a child's mind. She seemed afraid to face facts and so surrounded herself with an artificial world of make-believe, shutting off all disagreeable relations and associations.

Louis XVI had neither interest nor ability to direct the Queen into more serious or more intelligent activities, for, while she was playing the part of a rustic and highly artificial milkmaid, the King himself spent his time hunting or making locks, while the country of France was degenerating industri-

ally and socially and moving rapidly toward the Revolution that broke in 1789.

Versailles, because of the residence of the Queen there, became the center and source of fashion in France. This raised a storm of protest in Paris which, however, made no difference to the Queen who gathered about her dressmakers, milliners, jewelers, perfumers, feather dealers, and so forth. Since the Queen's taste for dressing up sprang largely from her madcap play instinct, fashions changed with extreme rapidity, so that the industries depending upon fashions for their existence came to have a very difficult time of it. At one time the Queen would indulge her tastes in apparel made of silk, so that the silk manufacturers of Lyons were overcrowded with orders. At another time her desires were for cotton goods such as cambrics and lawns made in England, with the result that imports ballooned while the Lyons industries lay idle. At still other times her interests were in fabrics that came from India, from Italy and other countries. Whenever there was a change, bitter feeling was aroused and the Queen was blamed for it.

Dressmaking During Time of Marie Antoinette

The emphasis on fashion at the court of France, promoted by the personal whims and tastes of Queen Marie Antoinette, caused an extraordinary boom in the dressmaking and millinery business. In France as in other European countries, most industries had been organized and developed under what was known as the guild system. There were old, well-established guilds of textile spinners and weavers, guilds of jewelers, guilds of silversmiths, guilds of cabinet makers, and so on. While the system of guilds began to break down with the rise of the industrial revolution in the latter part of the eighteenth century it does not appear that there had been a guild

in the millinery and dressmaking industries before, and it is worthy of note that it was during the reign of Queen Marie Antoinette that a guild of milliners with more than thirty members was established in Paris in 1776. The chairman or head of this guild for several years was a capable milliner, dressmaker and business woman named Rose Bertin. The position of head of the guild was one that logically belonged to Mlle. Bertin for she was the chief milliner and dressmaker for Queen Marie Antoinette from 1772 to 1789.

Among the other dressmakers and milliners of Marie Antoinette's time who were famous for their artistic productions and contributions to the arts of apparel, there appeared such names as Richard, Fredin, Quentin, an English tailor named Smith who had an established business in Paris and who produced riding habits, Léonard and Beaulard. Both Léonard and Beaulard were very active competitors of Mlle. Bertin. Toward the end of the reign of Marie Antoinette, Mlle. Bertin's and Beaulard's organizations were combined.

The artists of the day who painted portraits also made their contributions to the art of dress by their methods of posing and draping their subjects. Vigée Lebrun, one of the most famous portrait painters of the period of Louis XVI, exercised very considerable influence on dress.

Mlle. Rose Bertin, the First Great Dressmaker

A few facts may be of interest about Rose Bertin, the greatest milliner and dressmaker of the court of Marie Antoinette and one of the forerunners of the great couture houses of Paris of the present day. Her real name was Marie Jeanne Bertin, but among the court ladies as well as to the Queen she was always known as Mlle. Rose.

The Queen thought so highly of her that she held conferences with her twice a week at which Mlle. Rose showed her



PLATE 26. MLLE. ROSE BERTIN—THE GREAT MILLINER AND DRESSMAKER OF THE COURT OF MARIE ANTOINETTE

From "Rose Bertin," by Émile Langlade. Courtesy of Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

new productions and discussed manners of dress and other things in which the Queen was interested. For her close relationship with the Queen she came to be nicknamed "Minister of Fashion." She was born of poor parents at Abbéville near Amiens in 1747 and died near Paris in 1813. She came to Paris at about the age of 16 and was employed as an errand girl and later as seamstress for Mlle. Cadelle who was the dressmaker for Mme. Du Barry, mistress of Louis XV. Mlle. Rose's progress in the art of millinery and dress was very rapid and it was not long before she established a shop for herself in the Rue St. Honoré to which she gave the name "Grand Mogul." The Rue St. Honoré was then what the Rue de la Paix and Champs Élysées are at present as centers of fashion industry. Later in her career she moved her shop to the Rue Richelieu.

Without any family connections or social standing, with very little education but with excellent native ability, great energy and resourcefulness as well as a good business head, Mlle. Rose Bertin became in a few years the most outstanding fashion creator in Europe. She not only served the Queen and most of the leading ladies of the Queen's court, but also the women of the royal courts of other nations including Spain, Portugal, England, Germany, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, Turkey, and even Russia. She established the custom of sending illustrations of her new styles to the courts of other countries once a month in the form of fully dressed dolls, so that the ladies in these courts could see what the latest Parisian fashions were, and decide whether they wanted to order them or not.

Mlle. Rose Bertin's customers included Mme. Du Barry who in her later years came to Mlle. Rose for her garments. Du Barry herself had been apprenticed and trained as a dressmaker.

Personally Mlle. Rose Bertin must have been somewhat of

a difficult person for her associates and competitors to get along with. She was proud, haughty, snobbish, insolent and arrogant. She was extremely jealous of her competitors, particularly Léonard and Beaulard. A woman formerly in her employ, Charlotte Picot, set up a shop for herself in Versailles and shortly thereafter Mlle. Rose Bertin met her in a corridor of the Queen's apartment and raised a furore of talk including a lawsuit drawn out for many months for damages by spitting in Charlotte's face.

Mlle. Rose Bertin's shop was arranged as a beautiful salon. On its walls were mirrors and pictures of her famous customers, suggestive of the modern couturier's salesroom. The competition of the time among milliners and dressmakers was such that it was necessary to have very elegant shops in order to attract the best trade.

Mlle. Rose Bertin, with the cooperation of the Queen, created a great many of the styles which became the fashion of her time. The enormously high head-dresses that were the vogue for some years, the so-called poufs that followed the high head-dresses, the sophisticated type of garments worn by the Queen and the court of Versailles, which became the fashion of the world in the latter part of Louis XVI's reign, were the products of her skill.

Mlle. Rose Bertin's products were always named, generally from current events, but also from great people and from characters in successful plays. She also used geographical names, names from the classics, myths and war heroes. Her work and its promotion were marked by a great deal of ingenuity. She must have given a great deal of study to her art and its background to produce, as she did a successive stream of new styles, a large number of which became great successes.

When the power and influence of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette began to decline, Mlle. Bertin's influence also began

to decline. Shortly before the Revolution many of the nobility and wealthy people in France fled, so that she lost many of her best customers by emigration. Large sums of money were due her from these customers. One report states that her outstanding credits amounted to more than 1,500,000 francs at the time of the opening of the Revolution. It was impossible for her to collect but a fraction of this large amount in later years, and while she reestablished herself after the Revolution and gained a certain amount of trade, her business was never so successful as in the time of Marie Antoinette. Her patronage from the other courts of Europe steadily melted away, not because of lack of her artistic ability, but because of the difficulty of transacting business from Paris. France, which for several years remained in almost constant warfare with the other nations, was practically cut off commercially from other nations.

It is also probable that Mlle. Rose Bertin found some difficulty in adjusting her taste and ability to create to the new trend that developed during the time of Napoleon's reign. Finally her business was cut down to a small shop for the sale of jewelry and dress novelties and in 1813 she passed away. Following her death, her business was conducted for some years following by a nephew and then passed out of existence entirely.

The French Revolution and Its Effect on Fashion

The French Revolution began in 1789. A period of several years of unrest followed, so that, from a standpoint of the development of art, one may think of an era of transition, of difficulty, of sudden changes in styles extending from 1789 down to about 1800.

The immediate effects of the French Revolution in 1789 were to make the wearing of fine clothing a dangerous thing.



PLATE 27. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, 1790–1792
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

The nobility and wealthy classes who had indulged in so much fine apparel prior to 1789 were looked upon by the mobs of Paris as the enemies of society, and there was no hesitation in tearing them to pieces or in sending them to the guillotine. Many members of the upper classes were beheaded and multitudes fled from the country. Those who stayed disguised themselves by wearing the simplest and poorest clothing for a period of several years.

After the heated emotions of the Revolution had been somewhat calmed, there arose a period of wild spending and abandon in apparel and styles, somewhat the same as occurred in America following the period of the World War in 1919-20. While there was some effort made during 1793-94 to go back to the styles of Queen Marie Antoinette, the fundamental movements of fashion had set in against these styles. Instead, startling creations in apparel, both for men and women were adopted which were called, respectively, incroyables and merveilleuses. Tight lacing and corset-wearing were given up, body-fitting garments both for men and women became the vogue, and, for a brief period, very little clothing was worn at all. Fashionable women boasted that their entire apparel from head to foot weighed less than a pound. Women appeared at formal events with but a single garment, a sort of transparent chemise. It looked as if the fashion wave would go the whole way to nudity. However, this lasted but a short time and then other influences began to produce effects.

During the Revolution the French fashion industries went to pieces. The demoralization was so complete that people in other countries who had formerly looked to France for artistic apparel and millinery transferred their search for such goods to other countries, particularly England. However, England did not grasp the opportunity to become the fashion center. London was unprepared. It might have made itself preeminent, but let the opportunity slip.



PLATE 28. "INCROYABLE" AND "MERVEILLEUSE," FRENCH COSTUMES, 1794
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 29. MADAME TALLIEN, 1795—DIRECTOIRE STYLE. EARLY BEGINNINGS OF EMPIRE STYLE

From "Rose Bertin," by Émile Langlade. Courtesy of Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

However, English fashions dominated in most European countries from 1793 to 1796. The high-waisted gowns that were later called the Empire style and which became almost a universal fashion for the next twenty years originated in England, as did also turban hats which became prominent in connection with the Empire style after Napoleon had established the Empire. The turban had been introduced in England by visitors from India. This period of English influence was known in France as a period of Anglo-mania. This, however, gave way about 1796 to a new set of influences. The fashionable people of France began to imitate classic models, or what they thought was classic, beginning at first with Greek designs and then continuing with Roman, at first Etruscan decorations and ending with Pompeian lines and designs. Out of the multitudes of influences seeking sway during the Napoleonic period, the so-called Empire styles were evolved which reached their climax of success during the time of Napoleon's rule, that is, up to 1814, but continued for a period of at least ten to fifteen years more in gradual decline.

The Empire Period

As indicated in the previous section, the Empire period had its roots in styles that originated in England, the Orient and from classic Rome. It continued throughout the Napoleonic reign, ending in 1814, and through the restoration under Louis XVIII, gradually passing out between 1825 and 1830.

The Empire period was characterized by styles more or less harmonious with each other and, in a sense, expressing the social life of the period. Empire styles ruled in architecture, furniture, jewelry, draperies, as well as apparel. The corsetless vogue which had begun with the French Revolution continued throughout the Empire period. Classic models of one kind or another, usually Roman, were followed. Women's



PLATE 30. COSTUMES OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN, 1800
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 31. LADY WEARING SPENCER AND LADY WEARING HIGH HAT, 1805
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

apparel was characterized by high waist lines, emphasis of the bust, and flowing draperies. Skirts were fairly short. They did not touch the ground again until about 1836 or 1837.

During the Empire period, industrial arts were rapidly and highly developed. Cotton and wool textiles, as well as silk, were produced in much greater quantity than heretofore, and prices declined so that their use became possible for great masses of people. A large number of families engaged in these industries attained wealth and the number of wealthy people became steadily greater.

Despite the rapid progress made industrially, there was during the Empire period, a lack of great artists, so that artistic inspiration was largely lacking in production. Furniture, interior decoration and apparel gradually grew less artistic and more ugly as the period advanced.

Among the fashion leaders of the time there was no outstanding character such as Marie Antoinette had been in the preceding period. The women of Napoleon's court, even Empress Josephine and her successor, Marie Louise, had practically no effect on the trends of fashion whatsoever. Both of them, as well as the other members in Napoleon's household, followed the current fashions rather than attempting to set them. Mme. Récamier, a woman of wealth and fashion, came as near as anyone during the earlier part of the Napoleonic period of being a leader of fashion. She was later exiled from France by Napoleon. Mme. Récamier's taste and influence favored classic Roman models and therefore made its contribution toward fixing the Empire period styles along that direction.

While the artistic inspiration of great artists may have been lacking, there were many minor artists and artisans who served the growing numerous classes of wealthy people. The leading dressmaker of Napoleon's period was J H. Leroi. There were many other concerns, and, after the return of the Bour-



PLATE 32. COSTUMES OF LADY AND GENTLEMAN, ABOUT 1805

From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

Full Empire styles: turban, high-waisted gown, draperies and shawl. Man's costume typical of time.



PLATE 33. EMPIRE COSTUME OF ABOUT 1805. "MLLE. CHARLOTTE DU VAL D'AGNES," BY DAVID

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



PLATE 34. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, 1809–1812
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 35. LADIES' COSTUMES, 1814
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 36. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMAN, 1815-1820

From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

Note the extremely high waist, the pantalettes worn by the standing lady, and the long trousers worn by the man.



PLATE 37. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMAN, 1820-1825

From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."

In this period the Empire styles were giving way to new fashion trends, such as corseted figures and accentuated sleeves. Note the similarity of man's waist to women's figures; also the trousers with straps coming under the insoles of the boots.

bons in 1814, under Louis XVIII and then under Charles X efforts were made to revive the splendors of the period prior to 1789 by the encouragement of applied art but without much success. Neither Louis XVIII nor Charles X nor the women of their courts were able to exercise the fascination over the people that the earlier courts of France had held. For one thing, the individual members of the families of the ruling houses under the restoration were entirely too old. The years lost during the period of the Revolution and Napoleon's reign could not be recalled.

Period of 1825 to 1845

The period from 1825 to 1845 throughout Europe was marked by great unrest, strife and upheaval. There were many violent changes in government and, to some extent, radical changes in social and economic conditions. Revolutions occurred in several nations, ideas favoring a republican form of government became more and more popular. Established houses of royalty became insecure and unsafe. Both the nobility and the clergy had played out as forces of influence over the public.

A rapid spread of industrialism during this period helped to raise new important classes whose power was based on wealth rather than on the old aristocratic foundations of birth and breeding. The use of steam as motive power in factories became general, and it was during this period that steam also came into general use in all western countries as a means of transportation, first in steamboats and, later, in steam railways.

Interests of industrialists demanded new attitudes and new services from governments, so that capitalists and managers of industries began to take an increasing part in politics and governmental direction. This new force in politics, brought in by people who had in a preceding generation had little or no voice



PLATE 38. LADIES AT LINEN DRAPER'S SHOP. COSTUMES OF 1825

Interesting illustration not only of dress but of shopping and retail shop interior of the time.

in government, made a very important difference in the constitution of the upper classes.

The laboring classes also came into prominence during this period, first, by becoming self-conscious, in large groups, of their position and interest as workers and, second, in the development of a philosophy of labor which in some cases took the direction of the establishment of trade unions, in others by attempts to control political parties, and in still other cases by the proposal to establish new political governments under theories of socialism and communism.

Great evils were suffered generally by the working classes in the industrial development of the period. Working hours were very long. Working conditions were inhuman, unsanitary and disastrous to health and life. This period marked the rise of social reformers such as Robert Owen who as an employer and capitalist made many practical improvements in working conditions, and Charles Dickens who as a novelist depicted the plight of the lower classes of people in stirring and dramatic detail.

There probably has been no other period of history in which so many new movements of social significance were started. Among these was the movement in most of the western nations for popular education which, however, did not achieve widespread results until the next generation. It was during this period that printing and paper became perfected so that cheap daily newspapers came into existence, making available the news and gossip of the day for the masses. This was the period during which the woman question arose. In its earliest phases the feminist movement directed its effort toward securing women's suffrage, but later the movement spread to obtaining more equitable legislations pertaining to women and children, and equalization of opportunity for women in industry.

Several new religions came into existence and gathered



PLATE 39. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMAN, 1825-1830
From "Zur Geschichte der Kostume."



PLATE 40. DAY AND EVENING DRESS, 1827

From "Life in Regency and Early Victorian Times," by Chancellor. By courtesy of Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

numerous adherents. Most of the older religions went through periods of reorganization and revival. Religious enthusiasm as well as competitive religious feeling ran very strong during the 30's and 40's.

It was during this period that bad health came into fashion, particularly for women. Paleness, frequent fainting and ailing bodies were prized as desirable features of fashionable life. Medicine and therapy enjoyed an enormous boom. Patent medicines came into wide use. Almost everybody took remedies for something or other. Homes were stocked with drugs and curative compounds, and travelers carried medicine cases with them. Customary greetings changed from "Good morning" to "How is your health?" and acquaintances spent hours in telling each other how badly they felt. Outdoor exercise all but passed out.

Snuff-taking, which had been prominent in the fashions of the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century, gave way among fashionable people to smoking and chewing tobacco. Considerable opposition developed against smoking in several European countries, as well as in the United States, but neither legislation nor preaching apparently had any influence in stopping the progress of the fashion. European travelers in America, during the 30's and 40's, reported the constant and general use of chewing tobacco by men in all classes, and the widespread but uncouth fashion of expectorating "tobacco juice."

This era was characterized by the adoption of the most inartistic and grotesque styles known in modern times. Following the corsetless period of the French Revolution and the Empire period, the use of corsets again set in. By 1830, tight lacing had been carried to such exaggerated limits that this may have been one of the reasons for the commonness of paleness and fainting spells among women of that time. Skirts gradually grew longer so that they began to touch the ground



PLATE 41. COSTUME OF LADY, 1832

From "Historic Dress in America," by McClellan. Copyright, Macrae Smith Company. Reproduced by permission.

about 1836 or 1837, but the main characteristic of women's apparel during this era was the so-called "leg-o'-mutton" sleeves worn beginning about 1825 and ending in 1845. The leg-o'-mutton sleeve began in a modest way but developed in size as the years passed by, so that by 1835 it had become so large and unwieldy that it was almost impossible for a lady dressed in the fashion of the time to enter an ordinary doorway except sideways. Various devices were used to make the widely extended sleeves keep their shape, such as heavy fabrics, horsehair fabrics, starched fabrics and wire frames. The emphasis of the period was decidedly on sleeve development. A great variety of types of hats were developed usually without any relation to utility or to the rest of the costume. The fashions for women were generally ugly, the worst in American history, and America followed the fashions of European countries with slavish regard during these years. Novelty rather than art and good taste dominated the trends.

There was very little style inspiration during this period from any specific or outstanding source whatsoever. Unlike the periods of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, there were no influences over fashion emanating from royalty. Nor were there any great artists whose influence was sufficient to dominate fashion trends. The leaders of fashion were largely actresses and the demi-mondaines. Among the actresses that one finds mentioned in the fashion news of the 30's and 40's, were such women as Mars, Fay, Grisi, Falcon, and Minette. Paris continued, at least nominally, as the style center of the world, but largely without inspiration. Many of the modifications in style which became prominent fashions originated in Vienna and Berlin.

Both Vienna and Berlin rose in importance as political capitals during the 30's and 40's. Women of wealth and fashion went almost as often to these places for enjoyment and social life as to Paris. London likewise gained enormously



PLATE 42. SILHOUETTE OF FAMILY, 1832

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.
Silhouettes were much used as a means of reproduction of likenesses in the early part of the nineteenth century. They were replaced in the early 40's by daguerreotypes and later by photography.



PLATE 43. COSTUME OF A LADY, 1833

From "Historic Dress in America," by McClellan. Copyright, Macrae Smith Company. Reproduced by permission.

in wealth and importance during the same period, and became an important center of fashion influence not only for women but also established the supremacy that it has since enjoyed in men's apparel. That London prestige in women's apparel was later lost was probably due to the type of social life which was sponsored by leading English families, including Queen Victoria, a social life which for many years could not be equaled for its dullness, heaviness and conservatism in matters pertaining to applied art. The early Victorian era developed a sort of sickly sentimental, but at the same time highly materialistic philosophy of life that contented itself with smug attitudes on morals and religion. At the same time, the British extended their efforts in materialistic forms as never before. The effect of English Victorianism and similar philosophies and attitudes on the continent, particularly in Germany, tended to throw a cloud over all progressive artistic effort for many years. Skilled craftsmen, artisans and artists gave way everywhere to crude machine manufacture, so that what had formerly been made by skilful artificers came to be made by machine.

This was the period during which ready-made clothing came to be made and distributed in large quantities in western Europe as well as in the United States. It was a period during which furniture and home furnishings also began to be made in large quantities by mechanical processes. The chief and, in fact, only virtue of the early days of manufactured products was the cheapness of these products compared with the cost of goods made by craftsmen. Thus great masses of people were enabled to procure clothing and furnishings which had formerly been beyond their reach. But in the effort to produce cheap goods, style and taste were largely forgotten, left to amateurs without tradition and without training, or made dependent upon the possibilities of production of the machines in their earlier and cruder forms.



PLATE 44. COSTUMES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, 1836–1847

From "Historic Dress in America," by McClellan. Copyright, Macrae Smith Company. Reproduced by permission.

Note the transition made from the Empire period styles, the increased volume of skirts, the tight lacing, the changes in men's clothing, the swallowtailed coat used for general wear and the declining neckwear.

Period of 1845 to 1870

Near the close of the period from 1825 to 1845, women's apparel reached a fairly high degree of simplicity and utility, as well as beauty. The leg-o'-mutton sleeves which had dominated women's apparel during the 30's disappeared about 1845, skirts which had grown quite wide in the latter 30's also had declined somewhat. Although they were still wide, they were not so wide as to impede movement. Women's garments for a brief time were both good-looking and practical. It was only a short time, however, before the trend of fashion again carried women's apparel into excesses of silhouette and designs to a very marked degree.

The period from 1845 to 1870 in women's apparel is primarily characterized by the rise, dominance, and then decline of the crinoline. The chief emphasis of design was placed during this period, not on the sleeves or bodice, but on the skirt. Skirts continued to grow wider from 1845 down to 1860 or 1861, when they reached their greatest width.

Fashion trends seem to go from one excess to another. During the period of Louis XV and Louis XVI fashion exaggeration took the form of hoops and head-dresses. During the Empire period, fashion exaggerated and emphasized women's breasts. From 1825 to 1845 the outstanding exaggeration was the sleeve. From 1845 to 1870 it was the skirt that came in again for outstanding exaggeration. Farther on, we shall find that the period of the crinoline was followed by another tendency to exaggeration of silhouette during the 70's and 80's, by means of the bustle and bustle effects. During the 90's another period of leg-o'-mutton sleeves prevailed down to the opening of the twentieth century.

The effect of ever-widening skirts during the early part of the period from 1845 to 1870 was at first secured by women by adding to the number of petticoats worn. In the early

50's, a typical outfit for women consisted of long drawers trimmed with lace, a flannel petticoat, another under-petticoat, then a wadded petticoat, wadded from the waist to the knee with frequent additions of whalebone and horsehair cloth to secure extra stiffness and extension. This garment was followed by still another white starched petticoat, and then two muslin petticoats and finally the outer dress.

This collection of garments was worn during the winter as well as the summer with changes merely in weights of fabrics and substitution of woolen fabrics for muslin during the winter. As the fashion trend toward wider skirts continued during the 50's, a greater and greater amount of horsehair cloth and whalebone was used in the construction of the wadded or padded petticoat, until the weight and burden of these garments must have been enormous.

At various times and places in human history, the amount of clothing worn has assumed enormous proportions. Among the lower races living close to the margin of existence, most of the time the amount of clothing depended largely on the success of the hunt or the pillage of enemies, or in higher cultures upon the number of wives or slaves whose industry was represented in the spinning and weaving of the garments worn. In historic times, among western nations, periods of wearing much clothing have generally corresponded to periods of greatly increased prosperity, as among the Florentines and Venetians in the fifteenth century, the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, and the Dutch in the seventeenth century. One of the outstanding marks of general prosperity of the times in each case was loading the body with more apparel—more doublets and hose, more shirts, more breeches, more capes or coats, and so on. The amount of the apparel, in a rough way, symbolized the material prosperity of the people.

During the first half of the nineteenth century there developed the trend toward more clothing, particularly for



PLATE 45. COSTUMES, 1857

From "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," by Fischel and Von Boehn. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.



PLATE 46. "EMPRESS EUGÉNIE," BY FRANCIS X. WINTERHALTER

From "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," by Fischel and Von Boehn. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

women, which reached its peak about the middle of the century and gradually declined down to the opening of the twentieth century. It is quite possible that this movement, like the others mentioned, symbolized the rapid rise in prosperity and general increase in the standard of living occurring in the nineteenth century. The rise in well-being, the increase in purchasing power on the one hand and the decline in the prices of fabrics on the other, were the conditions out of which competition to wear more and more clothing might well have grown. So, during the 20's women began to add more fabric; then, later, in the 30's, more garments, particularly more petticoats, so that by the latter 50's there were women who wore as many as thirty thicknesses of cloth about their waists. If this explanation is correct, then no better illustration could be found of Veblen's "theory of the leisure class" and the attempt to prove social excellence by "conspicuous consumption." In some indirect but nevertheless effective manner, the number of petticoats was taken as the measure of success, social rating and other "honorific" qualities.

In the latter 50's a new invention, the crinoline, came into use. It is claimed that this invention was introduced in France by Worth in 1860 and that the invention itself had been made by an Englishman. Assuming the inevitability of the fashion for wide skirts, the use of the crinoline was a very decided improvement, for the reason that it made it possible to lay aside a number of the petticoats formerly worn for the purpose of extending the bottom of the skirt. The crinoline also made possible the elimination of the heavy, hot, burdensome, horsehair fabric formerly used to extend the skirts. On the other hand, the use of the crinoline resulted in a rapid extension of the width of the skirt, so that it became impossible for fashionable ladies of the time to enter ordinary doorways, ride in carriages, find their way into ordinary church pews, without a great deal of difficulty. As a writer of the time has



PLATE 47. LADIES IN HOOP SKIRTS, 1863
From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

stated, for a fashionable lady of the latter 50's to enter a carriage required an infinite amount of time, not to mention patience, on the part of her male escort.

The crinoline continued to be used as a means of expanding skirts growing ever wider to about 1861, then apparently having reached the climax of their development, they continued with some variation for some two or three years and then began to decline in size, and finally about 1870 fashionable women gave up wearing them.

It was during this period that the influence and power of France over the world of fashion was again definitely established. It is possible that England may have gained this position except for the fact that the British court and the fashionable people of the time apparently had neither the vision nor the desire to attempt world leadership. Queen Victoria who came to the throne in 1837, quite unlike most of the younger ruling heads of western nations, seemed to be without desire to establish herself as the pattern or model of fashion even for British women, much less for others in foreign countries. Her tastes were conservative and rather domestic. With her marriage to Prince Albert, she became completely absorbed in her business as Queen and in family interests. Prince Albert, the Queen's consort, was, if anything, more conservative in his taste than the Queen and very much opposed to changes in fashion. He even objected to the moderate changes which the Queen adopted. Fashionable people in England, as in most European countries, looked to the women of the stage rather than to royalty for the introduction and experimental effects of new types of costumes.

In 1853, a royal court came into existence which attempted to set the standards of style and of fashion, and came more nearly doing so than any other in the nineteenth century. Louis Napoleon, who had been made President of the French Republic, established what was known as the Second Empire and

was designated as Napoleon III. After becoming emperor he married Eugénie, daughter of a Spanish count and granddaughter, on her mother's side, of an American citizen named Kirkpatrick. Eugénie was born in Spain but had been educated in a convent school in Paris and, during the period immediately preceding the rise of Louis Napoleon to the position of presidency, she had lived in Paris and had been introduced in the various high social circles and activities then in existence. Eugénie came to France a very bright, ambitious and vivacious young woman. However, her union with Napoleon had been looked upon with disfavor by other rulers in Europe, most of whom looked upon Napoleon III as something of an upstart himself, so that Eugénie did not promptly receive the social recognition of the other capitals in Europe. Under pressure of wounded pride and the determination to capture the esteem and admiration of a doubting world, the Emperor and Eugénie established court activities and ceremonies which, for style and brilliancy, have not been exceeded in modern times. The efforts of the French court were successful. The brilliance of the social life of Paris served as a magnet to people of all nations who again came to enjoy its social life and began again to look to Paris for fashion inspiration. French industry, which had not kept pace with the progress that had taken place in industrial England, also boomed. The silk, lace and embroidery industries in particular prospered greatly.

It was during Empress Eugénie's reign that the crinoline reached its climax. The yardage required to produce women's garments went to unheard-of totals. In a court function held in 1859 the dress worn by a fashionable lady in attendance contained over 1,100 yards of material used in the construction of flounces and worked into tucks, folds and various trimmings. Eugénie herself wore a dress at the same social event with 103 full flounces.

The fashion of the crinoline spread all over the world. It

was as popular in the Americas as in the courts of Europe. The reader who cares to consult the magazines and periodicals published during the 50's and 60's may easily see for himself what the fashions were at that time.

While the outstanding emphasis of style creation was expended in extending the skirts as widely as possible, a great deal of art—more or less good—was also exerted in the development of styles of millinery, most of which would be thought queer at the present time. Because of the types of skirts worn, coats became absolutely impossible, and for outer garments women wore capes and fancy shawls.

By 1860, the grotesque proportions of the crinoline had aroused a great deal of criticism, even among fashionable women. Empress Eugénie attempted to curtail if not to stop its use by stating that she would no longer wear it, and shortly afterward the same report came from Queen Victoria over in England, but the fashion continued for several years following, and it is certain that both Eugénie and Victoria felt compelled to follow the fashion rather than break off the use of this type of garment as they had threatened to do.

Besides its discomfort and inconveniences, the use of the crinoline increased the danger from fire very greatly. Numerous instances of fashionable women being burned to death occurred throughout Europe, and in a fire that occurred in the cathedral of San Diego, Chile, more than 2,000 women were burned to death.

Despite the brilliance of social life at the court of Napoleon and Eugénie and the deep interest taken in the developments of style by Eugénie, she never became the arbiter and originator of new styles in the manner of Marie Antoinette and former leading queens of Europe. The insecurity of her social position, the restlessness of the time, and her own good sense, all contributed toward the adoption of the current fashions rather than attempting anything new or different which might easily

be misconstrued. The trend of fashion had definitely begun to be more the product of collective social life than it had been back in the eighteenth century, when people rather slavishly followed their sovereigns or other leaders in matters of style as well as everything else. The rôle of fashion creator, if it may be so-termed, during the period under consideration passed largely into the hands of dressmakers and milliners.

It was during the 40's and 50's that ready-made apparel began to be available for large groups of people in practically all of the western nations. Garments during this time, even of the most fashionable type, were made and displayed on living models before being adopted and worn by fashionable customers. It was during the 40's and 50's that the present system of couture, now existing in Paris, came into existence.

Period from 1870 to 1892

The brilliance of the court of Napoleon and Eugénie lasted but a few short years. French foreign policy involved France in warfare with her neighbors and, unlike Napoleon I, Louis Napoleon was unable to stem the tide of his enemies both from within and without, was defeated, and he and the Empress had to flee for their lives at the end of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

With the passing of the court of Napoleon and Eugénie, Paris lost some of its brilliant social life for a time. New fashions sprang up in the various capitals and social centers of the world simultaneously, without much influence or control from Paris. However, the breakdown of French influence over fashion was not nearly so great in the 70's as it had been following the Empire period in the latter 20's and 30's. The multitudes of skilful craftsmen in the textile and other industries supporting fashion had not been wiped out by the Franco-Prussian War as they had been by the Napoleonic Wars and



PLATE 48. COSTUMES AND INTERIOR OF 1870. "THE MUSIC LESSON," BY J. G. BROWN

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

For a brief period fashions for men and women were quite reasonable and artistic. The crinoline was passing and bustles had not yet appeared. Note the quite modern collar and tie worn by the man. Creased trousers had not yet made their appearance. The part of the room shown, the furniture, carpet, rug, wall-bracket, portraits and window blind, are all charmingly Victorian.



PLATE 49. SPRING SUITS, 1873

By courtesy of the *Dry Goods Economist*, New York.

This is believed to be the first advertisement of women's factory-made suits. It marks the beginning of commercial exploitation of this great industry.



PLATE 50. FASHIONS OF 1876

Ladies and gentlemen viewing exhibits at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.



PLATE 51. COSTUMES, 1876. "THE NEW BONNET," BY E. JOHNSON
By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 52. LADY'S COSTUME, 1882

From "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," by Fischel and Von Boehn. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

the world continued to look to France and to Paris for works of applied art although the social life of Paris declined slightly.

After the crinoline had passed out of use about 1870, women's garments became very tight and body-fitting about the waist, hips and down to the knees, but the saving of fabric that had been made by elimination of the crinoline began to be used by the development of trains, and in the early 70's a new silhouette developed which first began by the addition of bows, ruffles, folds and gathers at the back, and finally developed into the bustle. The center of fashion interest, as in the former period, continued to be in the development of the skirt. The bustle grew to enormous proportions during the 70's and then declined, so that at the opening of the 80's the fashion trend favored the appearance of garments somewhat following the lines of the human body. However, in the 80's the fashion for bustles again reappeared, continuing down to about 1890. Throughout the entire period, trains of various lengths and proportions continued in fashion, although it was during this period that the so-called walking costume began to come into use. Tight lacing continued during the 70's and 80's and reached the worst levels, particularly about the middle of this



PLATE 53. LADY'S COSTUME, 1888

From "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," by Fischel and Von Boehn. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.



PLATE 54. WHAT LADIES LOOKED LIKE IN 1889

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

period. Fur capes and dolmans were worn during the winter, together with extensive use of muffs. During the summer time silly little frilly parasols formed a part of the fashionable woman's outfit. Sleeves were generally short, although



PLATE 55. LADY'S TAILORED SUIT, 1893

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individual taste seemed to have held sway in this respect. As indicated above, fashion trend exhausted its energy in developments of the skirts.

During this period, the traditional leaders of fashion, the

houses of royalty and nobility, had less influence on fashion than ever before. The experimental work in the tryout of new fashions was assumed largely by actresses, demi-mondaines and the manikins of aggressive dressmakers who then, as in more recent times, had attempted the stimulation of their trade by the production of a great many new styles each season, from which they hoped to secure the approval for at least a few on the part of fashionable women. The dressmaking houses of Worth and Perdi continued to lead through this period.

Period from 1892 to 1908

In women's apparel, bustles passed out about 1890 in the fashion centers of the world and shortly afterward in all other places. Fashion emphasis and interest moved from the development of designs in skirts to that of the bodice and waist. During the early part of this new period the tailor-made suit came into existence, consisting of a shirtwaist or blouse, a jacket and separate skirt. The dress of women during the early 90's was quite sensible both from the standpoint of art as understood in those days and of utility, but it was not long before a beginning of a new trend occurred, the leg-o'mutton sleeve, largely copying and looking very much like the styles of the 30's. This continued from about 1890 down to 1899. Then for a year, from 1899 down to 1900, long slender, smooth sleeves were the vogue, followed by the leg-o'mutton type of sleeve reversed, that is, with the fullness near the wrist instead of at the shoulder. This type known as the bishop's sleeve continued from 1901 down to 1903. There were a great many variations in construction of sleeves during the period from 1900 down to 1903 and 1904. Individual taste gained control, and fashion lost sway entirely.

The waist itself began with a natural waist line in 1890 and continued so with slight variations throughout the entire period. Dresses and waists were made with high necks during the entire period. The straight-line front appeared about 1901 or 1902 and is said to have been introduced via the stage about 1900 by Sarah Bernhardt in her characterization of "L'Aiglon." The idea was adopted and widely followed, partly



PLATE 56. 1893

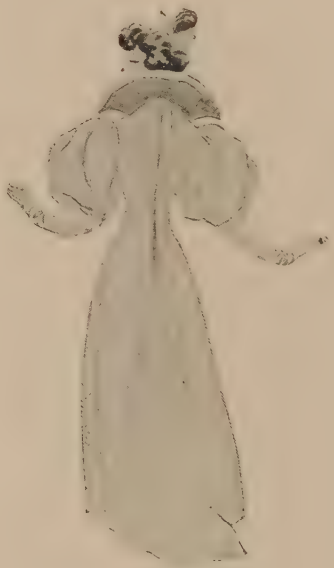


PLATE 57. 1894

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because of the impetus given by the Paris dressmakers, particularly the house of Paquin.

Women's garments underwent a great deal of simplification during this period. For example, the number of garments, such as petticoats, declined greatly, from six or seven in the early part of the period down to one in the latter part of the 90's. The fashion in skirts maintained a general trend of



PLATE 58. LADY'S COSTUME, 1894

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PLATE 59. 1895

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PLATE 60. LADY'S TAILORED SUIT, 1896

From *Butterick Catalogue of Fashions* for 1896-7.



PLATE 61. 1897



PLATE 62. 1898



PLATE 63. 1899

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bell-shaped silhouette, tight-fitting at the waist and hips down to the knees, with a flare at the bottom and train, both at back and sides. As the fashionable women of the eighteenth century at the courts of France had developed a high technique in the arts of the use of their handkerchiefs and in carrying the trains of the skirts, so there developed a high art in carrying the skirt in the 90's to the practice of which all fashionable women aspired.



PLATE 64. 1900



PLATE 65. 1901

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With the reduction in the number of petticoats worn, fashionable women began to give a greater amount of attention to the construction, and appearance of the one petticoat continued. With the long trains of the outer garment and the necessity for lifting them and carrying them, the petticoat came into view at all sorts of times, so that special efforts were made to make



PLATE 66. LADY'S COSTUME, 1902

From "Modes and Manners of the Nineteenth Century," by Fischel and Von Boehn. Reprinted by permission of E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

had never before been used for linings now came into general use for that purpose. Consequently, the manufacture and sale of silk yard goods expanded rapidly throughout the United States. Most of the present manufacturers of silks first came into prominence in this period.

A queer fashion or fad originated in the latter 90's and continued them with colorful hems, folds, flounces and rich fabrics. Prior to 1890, the use of silk had been considered a luxury among most classes, but the development of manufacture of fabrics had proceeded at such a rate during the 80's and 90's that a silk dress became a modest ambition of every woman of the middle classes as well as of the upper social classes, and silks which

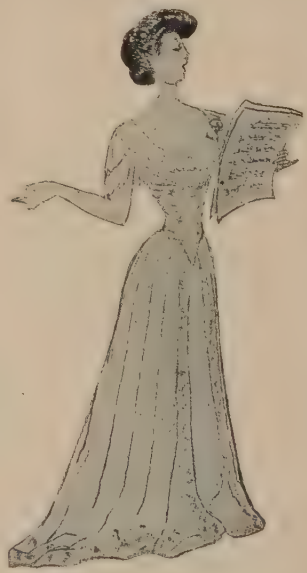


PLATE 67. 1903

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ued for some years—the use of materials in petticoats or skirts which would produce on moving about a rustle or "frou-frou." At first a very loud rustle was considered very fashionable, but as the arts of manufacture were developed and "frou-frou" could be obtained in even the cheapest petticoats, the finer quality of the rustle came to be a matter of significance.

During the early part of this period, that is through the 90's, one of the most popular types of hat worn by the younger women was a sailor hat. In the latter part of the period, after 1903, larger hats came into fashion such as the "Merry Widow" and picture hat.



PLATE 68. 1904

This was also the period in which the trend of shortening skirts of women began. Prior to the invention and use of the bicycle by women, the train was universal in all types of garments and for all occasions. The introduction of the safety bicycle which became popular during the middle 90's proved the impracticability of trains, and so bicycle costumes had to be devised with shorter skirts. Such skirts were found comfortable for walking, and gradually trains were eliminated in the so-called walking skirt. In the latter 90's a type of garment began to be used particularly during the spring and fall and during rainy weather known as the rainy day skirt, afterward called "Rainy Daisies." The idea of a short walking skirt spread from America to England and to France, and was adopted by French dressmakers, particularly by Paquin, who helped to fix the fashion of straight front as well as walking length skirt.



PLATE 69. 1905



PLATE 70. 1906

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PLATE 71. 1907



PLATE 72. 1908

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The entire period from 1892 to 1908 was characterized by the use by great masses of people of fabrics and trimming materials of very great variety and of much finer quality than had been common up to that time. This in part was due to the improvement of manufacturing of textiles and also in part to the increasing prosperity of the people which made it possible for them to afford products of art which were much too expensive in earlier days. The manufacturer of both men's and women's apparel by factory methods progressed to a very high point during this period, presenting the people of this country as well as the western countries of Europe with a great deal of art and high quality together with economy in cost.

An extraordinary elegance both in fabric and design characterized the garments of the latter 90's. From the standpoint of pure art, it is probable that this period represents the high point of fabric and apparel construction for the nineteenth century. The accessory industries and the industries producing the trimming materials for women's dress found this period one of very rapid growth. Laces, embroideries, beads, feathers and spangles, as well as artificial flowers, were used in all of the fashions of the period very freely.

Period from 1908 to 1928

The fashion trends of the early 1900's exhausted themselves in a multitude of directions, in the development of great varieties of sleeves, variations in bell-shaped types of skirts, and a great number of designs in millinery. Fashion literally lost itself in the number of designs that came into use, but it was during this period that certain new tendencies began to take effect, such as already indicated—the shorter walking length skirt, the straight front silhouette, the desire for more comfort and freedom from clothing by the growing participation of women in work outside of the home and in outdoor sports.



PLATE 73. 1909
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PLATE 74. 1910
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PLATE 75. 1913
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PLATE 76. 1914
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By 1908, the so-called walking skirts no longer touched the ground. Then came the vogue for tight skirts known as the "hobble" which developed from 1909 down to 1912. The hobble ideas were carried to such an extreme as to make walking and movement highly difficult, with the result that some change had to occur in which at least four different types of garments struggled for supremacy. One of these was the old type of garment with a wide bottom or a bell-shaped silhouette; the second was the attempt to introduce a divided skirt or Turkish or harem trousers for women; the third method was by making a slit in the side of the tight hobble skirt; and the fourth was the shortening of the skirt so as to make it comfortable for walking purposes. The attempt to reintroduce the bell-shaped skirt was not successful. The trouser skirt was urged strongly by many people interested in the development of fashion, including prominent Paris dressmaking houses, but after two or three years' promotion failed to accomplish any influence over fashion trend. The slit skirt had a favorable trend for a couple of years, but, with many variations and considerable hesitation, the trend that finally was accepted was the shortening of the skirt which was accelerated no doubt by the World War and particularly by the period of intense interest in dress changes that followed the World War.

The fashion changes following 1908 were, for the most part, disastrous to the interests of textile manufacturers who had been accustomed to requirements from individual women for garments utilizing many, many yards of fabrics. The new styles, beginning with the hobble skirt and the gradual elimination of the petticoat, cut textile demand into small fractions of what it had formerly been. So there was every reason for promoting types of fashions which would reintroduce a greater amount of textiles. The tendency of fashion toward the straight-line silhouette, which began with the hobble skirt of



PLATE 77. 1916



PLATE 78. 1917

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PLATE 79. 1920

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PLATE 80. 1921



PLATE 81. 1923

Copyright, Curtis Publishing Co. By courtesy o *Ladies' Home Journal.*

1909 and 1910, was a mark for attack on the part of textile interests. Many efforts were made to provoke interest in types of garments requiring more fabric but mostly without avail. For example, from 1912 to 1914 strong efforts were made to introduce types of garments known as pannier styles, but without success. Efforts were likewise made to interest fashionable women in garments that used a considerable amount of textiles which were folded or swathed about the body, but likewise without success. During the early part of the World War period, the movement toward the straight silhouette was modified somewhat by the introduction of what was known as the peg top silhouette, with the allowance of much fullness at the waist and hip and later by the barrel silhouette in which the fullness extended down to the knee but with the continuation of tight fit at the bottom of the skirt. The tubular silhouette which became the dominant fashion from 1920 onward, first began to appear during the early years of the war. Its very practical utilitarian appeal, as well as highly decorative value, opened up a fashion trend continuing for several years.



PLATE 82. 1925
By courtesy of *Harper's Bazar.*

Another interesting development of the styles beginning about 1908 was the disappearance of the high collar formerly worn and the development of low neck lines for all types of women's garments. There were also other innovations such, for example, as the kimono and the kimono sleeve construction which were introduced into the United States apparently as an effect of the interest in the Japanese that followed their success in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. During 1911-12-13, still in accordance with the development toward straight lines, there were dominant style influences which brought in the introduction of peasant types of cos-



PLATE 83. COSTUME, 1928
By courtesy of *Harper's Bazar*.

tume from the Balkans, Hungary and from Russia. Russian and Balkan influence in apparel construction continued down to the opening of the World War.

Among the many style influences seeking expression and dominance in the period from 1910 to 1915, there was a strong trend for a time to imitate the types of garments worn by women in the period of the Directoire. Garments of striking transparency were worn in 1912 and known as x-ray dresses. There was also another tendency, particularly for formal social events, to try to bring back what was known as a period style, the robe de style, but without the extreme exaggerations of the crinoline of the 1860's. The robe de style has occupied a limited but apparently secure place in the world of fashion for formal social events in the entire period from 1914 down to the present writing.

Following the war, a number of new fashion interests developed such as bobbed hair, the use of the cloche type of hat, a rapid shortening of skirts, followed by increasing emphasis on hosiery and shoes, increasing fashion interest in handbags and other accessories and, for a period of two or three years beginning in 1920, a fashion trend for knickers for women for use, not only in sports and outdoor wear in country and resorts, but also for business. This promotion reached its height in 1921, but failed to accomplish the effect of establishing what might be called a major fashion trend.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASHION IN MEN'S CLOTHING FROM 1789 TO THE PRESENT TIME

Men's Fashions Prior to 1789

Prior to the French Revolution in 1789, men's clothing was as fancy and as colorful as the clothing of women. The garments used in society and on formal occasions were made out of the same material as women's clothing, that is, of silks, satins and velvets as well as the finer materials of cotton which were rapidly coming into use in western Europe in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, these garments were, according to the fashions, heavily embroidered or liberally trimmed with lace and decorated with multitudes of buttons and buttonholes, braids and other materials.

The outer apparel of men prior to 1789 consisted of a long coat, generally collarless (although fashion differed in this respect), a waistcoat that usually extended nearly to the knees, knee-breeches, stockings of silk, wool, or cotton and buckled shoes. The use of boots came in after 1789 and particularly after the opening of the nineteenth century.

The colors of these garments varied greatly although they were usually vivid. Color seemed to be a matter of personal preference rather than of style or fashion dominance, although for outer coats green seemed to be most frequently used, followed by brilliant blues, clarets, purples and even dazzling reds. Throughout the eighteenth century men wore their hair long and had it tied up with a ribbon in the form of a queue at the back of the head. At least two or three periods during the eighteenth century, there were fashions for heavy use of hair

powder. In addition to the long hair worn by men, it was also customary to use wigs, possibly in part to conceal baldness, but more generally as an item of decoration or of dress for formal occasions.

Men's neckwear consisted of several wrappings or bindings of cloth, beginning generally with a buckram foundation and ending with brilliantly colored fabrics, fine laces, or finely embroidered materials in white.

In many respects the apparel of men was very similar to that of women. In the first place, as already noted, they used the same materials and the same colors. Both wore long hair, used hair powder, face powder, paints and even patches for decoration of the face. Snuff-taking was indulged in by both ladies and gentlemen. Gambling, the sports, the light endless gossip of the time, the careful observances of formality, were practices of both men and women. Men were even experts in what are now known as feminine accomplishments such as crocheting, embroidering and sewing.

The fashions of France were followed very generally by the other nations of Europe and by the colonies in America in men's as well as in women's apparel. There had been no style dominance in England in men's apparel since the time of Charles II, nor were there any outstanding courts or figures in other countries able to exercise a sufficient influence to direct the fashion for men. Even Charles II of England, whose interest in fine apparel led to the establishment of a considerable influence in apparel fashions, found the competition of Louis XIV for fashion supremacy too much for him. It is told that certain fashions in clothing originated by Charles II were effectively blocked by Louis XIV who directed all of his valets and lackeys to wear them, thereby making them unsuited for use by gentlemen. Similarly, certain colors that were sponsored by the English court were used at public executions in

France, thereby casting a forbidding gloom on their possibility from the fashion standpoint.

So from the time of Louis XIV down to the French Revolution, French fashions dominated entire Europe as well as America, although as pointed out elsewhere, American fashions were largely derived indirectly from France through the medium of England and primarily London. It may also be noted that of the American colonies prior to the Revolutionary War, New York then as now contained the greatest number of people keenly interested in following the fashion. Boston and Philadelphia both lagged far behind in this interest. Many leading families of the South, however, particularly in Virginia, kept close touch with fashion developments in England and France. With the opening of the Revolution and particularly after 1776, most of the American colonists transferred their fashion allegiance completely from England to France, so thenceforth the American colonies in common with the rest of the western world looked to France for its fashion inspiration.

Effects on Men's Fashions of the French Revolution

The immediate effect of the Revolution in France in 1789 was the disappearance of people dressed in fine clothing of any kind from the streets of Paris and other large cities. The rise of the inflamed proletariat made it exceedingly dangerous during a period of several months even to look as if one might belong to the nobility or aristocracy of the former régime. Mobs murdered individuals suspected of monarchial leanings without compunction, and in other cases individuals who had formerly been leaders in French society were brought to trial. The trial itself was often a mockery and merely a formality leading to the guillotine.

So during 1789 and 1790, the typical dress of both men and

women who remained in Paris and who attempted to carry on their occupations was such as would attract no attention at all, or to lead the mobs to believe that the individuals were members of the proletariat or working classes. Somber, dark, and particularly worn, ragged and dirty clothes were the rule.

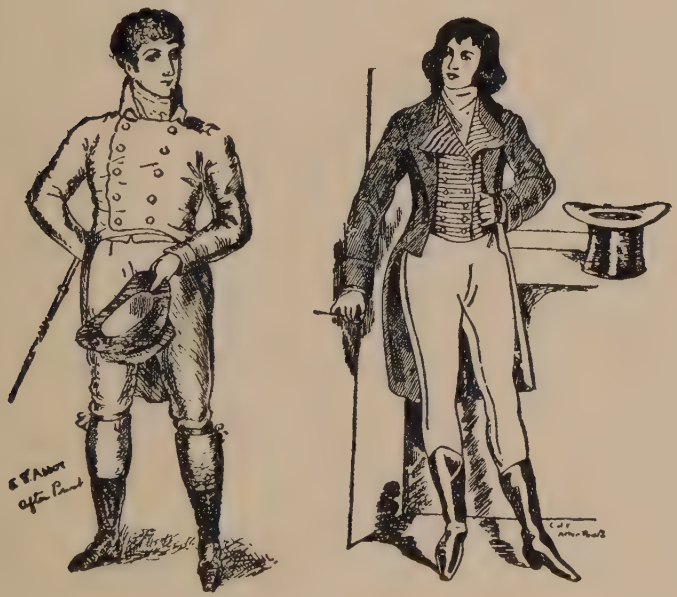


PLATE 84. MEN'S COSTUMES, 1801–1804

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Knee-breeches had been the customary form of clothing of gentlemen for ages, but the working men wore long trousers or pantaloons. With the disappearance of gentlemen, knee-breeches also gave way to pantaloons and in such polite society as still existed, those who wore pantaloons were nicknamed "sans culottes," meaning without breeches. The trend of long trousers that began in the French Revolution spread gradually

all over the world. Twenty-five years later, knee-breeches had almost entirely disappeared from the customary attire of men.

The political ideals of the period of the French Revolution emphasized the desirability of democratic government. The success of the American nation was referred to frequently. It was recalled that France had supported America in its conflict with Great Britain. The popularity of these leaders, men such as Lafayette, shone brightly during the troubled times of the Revolution. Lafayette and others who had been in the United States had brought back with them many American innovations, including certain styles of dress worn in the American colonies. The popularity of Benjamin Franklin, who had been at the court of France for many years, also helped to fix in the minds of the leaders of the Revolution the American type of personality and of apparel, so that it is not surprising that the fashions of France were considerably influenced by America.

However, the heat and excitement of the Revolution spent a considerable part of its force in the period from 1789 to 1792. By 1794, the vogue for wearing simple, ragged and somber apparel had passed by and was followed by a period of wild extravagance and orgy in spending. There was a new rich class in particular that could not abstain from showing their purchasing power. This was the beginning of the period in which styles were known as "incroyables" for men and "merveilleuses" for women. The people of France suddenly went to great extremes not only in the matter of expenditure for clothing, but in addition to this there were also the wildest extremes in types of apparel. Fashion acted somewhat is if it were like a taut spring which had been held back for two or three years and suddenly been released. For months it seemed as if the fashion trend for women were moving directly and rapidly in the direction of wearing no clothing at all, and at other times there was imitation of what, in a fantastic way, the people believed were the types of clothing worn by the Indians of North

America, to be followed by fanciful imitation of types of clothing worn in classic times. There finally developed out of this welter of styles a fairly well-defined trend of fashion which has since come to be known as the "Directoire," from the government under which France was ruled during 1794-95.

Empire Period from 1800 to 1825

Note has already been taken of the beginning in change in men's apparel from knee-breeches to long trousers. This movement continued as an unabated trend through the period of the "Directoire" and years following down to 1825. During the 20's the men not only in France but in other western nations including the United States, gave up wearing knee-breeches excepting for formal occasions, presentations at court or other ceremonials. This trend of men's fashion met with considerable opposition from all sorts of institutions upholding or supporting past customs. For example, students at Oxford and Cambridge in England were at first directed not to wear the new long trouser styles and later were counted absent if they appeared in classes with this style of apparel. The Duke of Wellington was turned away at the door of London's most famous restaurant, Alamack's, when he tried to enter wearing long trousers. The Church opposed members of the clergy adopting this type of apparel even during the 20's, not only in England but in America as well. The long trousers were considered as highly undignified and immodest types of apparel and were greeted with derision and scorn wherever they first appeared. On the other hand, the fact that the established institutions looked down upon their use may account, perhaps to some extent, for their ready adoption by the more radical elements in all of the western nations, so that their use for a period of several years became almost a symbol of liberalism if not radicalism.

Similarly, up to 1800 in France and England as well as in the United States, fashion had generally favored smooth shaving. At the opening of the nineteenth century long beards began to come into vogue and long beards, as well as long trousers, and, in general, carelessness of dress came to be considered as characteristics of people who were in opposition to

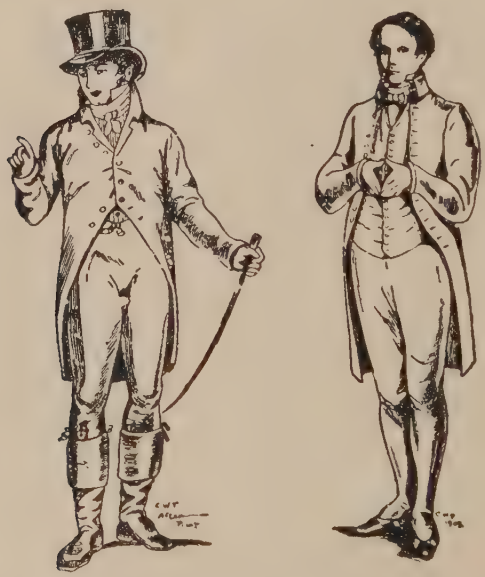


PLATE 85. MEN'S COSTUMES, 1806–1810

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the governments of that day. Smart silk and velvet coats in gay colors, smooth faces, knee-breeches and stockings were the marks of aristocracy. The newer types of apparel were generally worn by the restless, the dissatisfied and trouble-making elements, the early nineteenth century "Reds" of society. In time, however, these groups became the dominant forces and carried their fashions with them into high positions.

Among the other fashions that were adopted and came into general use during the period from 1800 to 1825 were high boots, known as Wellington boots because worn by the soldiers in Wellington's army in the Napoleonic campaigns. Their use spread to civilians, not only in England but to other countries as well. These boots with high leather tops were worn with the trousers pulled down over the outside of them.



PLATE 86. MEN'S DRESS, 1812–1829

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Another type of garment that came into general use during this period was the swallowtail coat which kept pace with long trousers. Swallowtail coats were the typical outer garments worn by business and professional classes from 1800 up to 1825. It has since become a garment solely for formal use in present-day clothing.

The Empire period from 1800 to 1825 was also characterized by exceedingly extravagant types of collars worn by men. The Empire types of collar must have been exceedingly uncomfortable and inconvenient. The throat and neck was wrapped with many thicknesses of fabric of such width as to make it difficult to understand how a gentleman of that time when dressed in the height of fashion could move his head at all in any direction.

Another fashion that came in during the Empire period was the high hat—the forerunner of the present silk hat worn by men on formal occasions. In the beginning it was made of wool felt, but for many years was made of beaver. The high hat has had a long history. For a period from about 1810 down to 1850 it ruled as the sole type of gentlemen's headwear without competition from any other type. It varied from year to year in height and to some extent in shape as well as in width of brim. During some years, the brim was comparatively flat, while in others it had a roll. Sometimes the chimney-pot hat, as it was called, was high and in others quite low, but it continued to hold sway as the prevailing fashion, down past the middle of the century.

In the latter part of the Empire period, beginning about 1820, there developed, particularly in America, a fashion of indifference to dress. This was a period during which democratic political ideals were strong and it came to be believed that it was not appropriate in a democracy to give very much attention to any such superficial thing as clothing, so that indifference and carelessness became the fashion or pose among most men, almost down to the time of the Civil War.

Period from 1825 to 1845

As has already been seen elsewhere, during the period from 1825 to 1845 women's fashions departed from the simple



PLATE 87. MEN'S DRESS, 1830–1833



PLATE 88. MEN'S COSTUMES, 1842–1850

From "Historic Dress in America," by McClellan. Copyright, Macrae Smith Company. Reproduced by permission.

flowing lines of the Empire period and took on a highly artificial character such as "leg-o'mutton sleeves," and ever-widening skirts together with a waist compressed by tight corseting. During the same period, men's apparel likewise changed and

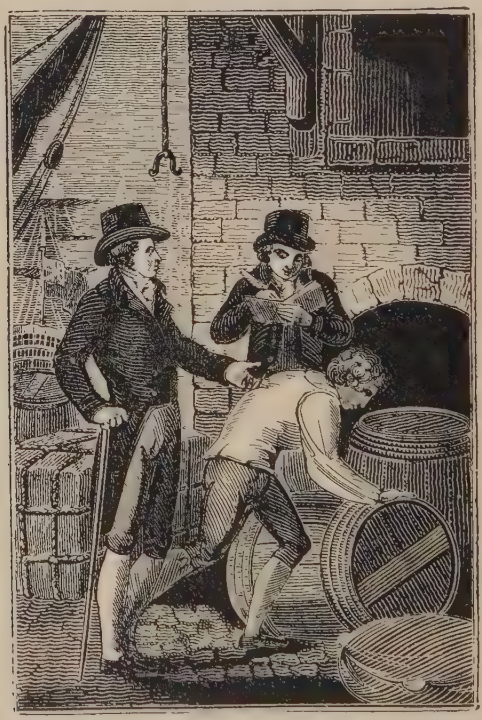


PLATE 89. ENGLISH MEN'S FASHIONS, 1825—ENGLISH BUSINESS MAN, CLERK AND LABORER

likewise somewhat for the worse. In some respects men's apparel became more effeminate. A waist-line developed and not a few men began to wear corsets, not only in America but in Europe, particularly in the continental countries. The use of color declined in outer apparel, continuing a trend that had begun at the time of the French Revolution. The only color

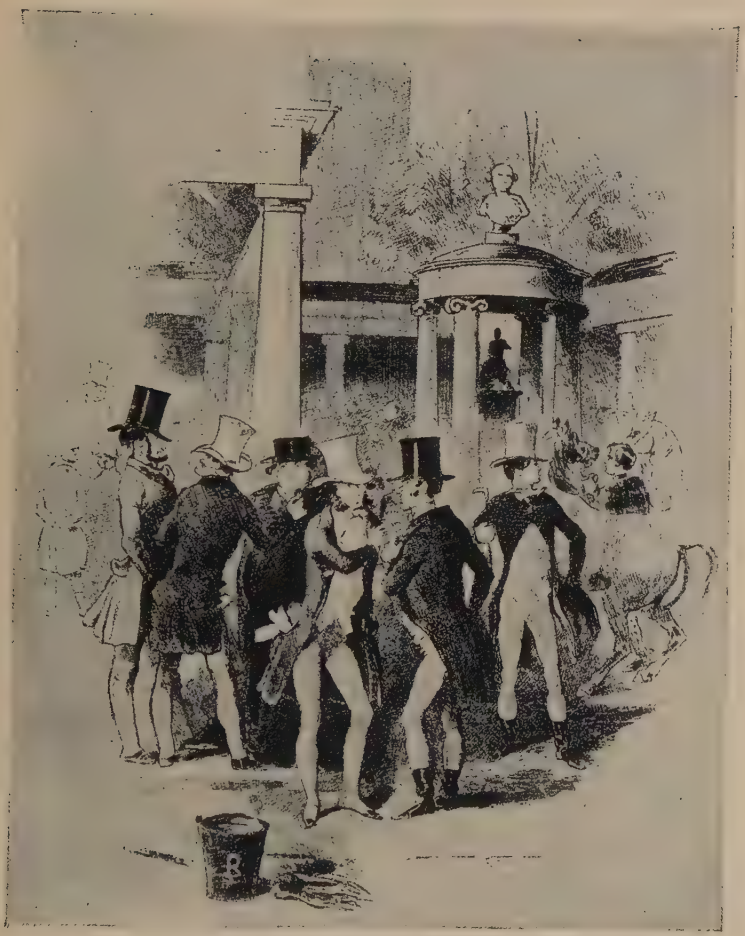


PLATE 90. ENGLISH MEN'S FASHIONS FOR 1835

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

still left in men's wear in this period was in waistcoats and in the avalanche of shirt fronts which were sometimes white, but more generally in color.

The fashion of brilliant neck-cloths and uncomfortable collars already noted during the Empire period also continued during the period under consideration. Both men and women in this period began to wear more jewelry. Both men and women cultivated waves and ringlets in hair dressing. Both men and women adopted a type of outer long coats that were somewhat the same both in fabric and in line.

During the period from 1825 to 1845, men's apparel was characterized by high padded shoulders, tight waists, and very tight, long trousers; in fact, the tighter the trousers the more genteel they were considered. The vogue for long beards that had begun during the Empire period became modified somewhat during this era by the development of special fashions such as side whiskers and long moustaches. The chimney-pot hat, as already indicated, usually black but sometimes gray or even white, continued throughout the entire period.

It was during this period that railroad transportation by steam originated and spread very rapidly both in the United States and in the European countries. The smoke, dust and soot in connection with steam railway travel made great difficulties for the gentlemen who wore the vivid-colored clothing that had been the fashion in past periods. So development of travel by steam railway and other public conveyances and the dirty condition of streets during the period, in combination with the growth of the democratic idea that apparel should be somber and unattractive in appearance, all tended to cause the decline of the use of color in men's clothing. By the end of this period dark suits, black or brown, were the rule. Before the middle of this period knee-breeches had completely passed out and long trousers were worn by all classes and at all social occasions. For a number of years during this period a fashion had



PLATE 91. MEN'S FASHIONS FOR 1839

From "Life in Regency and Early Victorian Times," by Chancellor. Courtesy of Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York.

been introduced of strapping the long trousers under the instep of the shoes. The typical Uncle Sam of the cartoons even to the present day, showing his trousers strapped under his shoes, has come down from the period of the 30's and 40's.

Influence of Fashion Dandies

Up to the eighteenth century, in practically all European countries men's fashions had originated with the kings and nobles. Whatever the king decided to wear, that constituted the model for all of his subjects, high and low, so far as their means permitted. If the king decided to wear a high collar, that became the fashion for all of his followers. If the king decided to wear pointed shoes, that likewise became the fashion for his followers. If the king decided to wear high-heeled shoes, as Louis XIV had done to offset his short stature and make him equal in height to his courtiers, that likewise became the fashion, not only in France but in other countries as well.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, with the growing ease of communication among the nations and growing interest in what was taking place in other parts of the world, there seems to have developed a competition among the kings themselves for fashion control and fashion influence. Note has already been taken of the fact of such active competition between Charles II and Louis XIV, in which Louis XIV decidedly got the best of it. No king following Charles II in England has ever been able to exercise any fashion influence over his subjects such as he or as others before him had secured. The ruling houses in England during the eighteenth century had not been very popular with the fashionable people of England, and it was not until the nineteenth century that there again developed any spirit of such loyalty as might lead to active imitation of the sovereign.

Similarly in France, imitation of the king declined after



PLATE 92. COLONEL ROBERT (BEAU) FIELDING—THE FIRST OF THE GREAT "DANDIES" OR "BEAUX" WHO RULED ENGLISH FASHIONS FOR MEN

Louis XV's rule. There were no ruling sovereigns in the other countries of sufficient influence, power or magnetism, or whatever may be necessary to secure fashion imitation, to make any difference in the fashion world. The control of fashion, therefore, passed out of and beyond the hands of kings, and became a much more unmanageable, irresponsible and unpredictable force when its directions were influenced first in one way and then another by imitation of commoners.

An interesting phenomenon developed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries both in England and France. Certain private individuals came to have outstanding influence over fashion and fashion trends in men's apparel. These individuals were called "dandies," "beaux," "bloods," "bucks," "macaronies," "exquisites," "lions," "elegants," "hommes a bonnes fortunes," "importims," "petits-maîtres," and so on.

The first of the great "dandies" was a man named *Robert Fielding* who came into prominence during the reign of Charles II in England and who continued to exercise a peculiar and striking influence over fashion imitation for some years following Charles II's reign.

The second individual of sufficient importance to merit historical record as a dandy was *Richard Nash,* commonly called Beau Nash, who was born in 1674 and died in 1762. Beau Nash ruled over men's fashions in England very much as Louis XV did over men's fashions in France. Nash was a graduate of Oxford and for a time an officer in the British Army. He later studied law, but was not successful in his practice. He became noted in London for an extremely ready wit and for a sort of comical impudence that gave the lords and ladies much to laugh at, without getting him into trouble. The King of England, to whom Beau Nash had been introduced, assisted him in getting a position as master of ceremonies of Bath which was then rising in importance in Eng-



PLATE 93. RICHARD (BEAU) NASH, 1674-1762—A LEADER OF ENGLISH SOCIETY AND FASHION

land as a fashionable watering place. His duties in connection with this position were to make regulations for the visitors, covering deportment at the balls, matters of dress, and so on. For example, Beau Nash made rules against the wearing of swords, did much to discourage dueling, and prescribed the use of shoes and stockings for men instead of high top boots such as had been worn. He likewise made rules covering the operation of the gambling conducted at this resort and enjoyed a considerable income for many years from the gambling concessions.

Beau Nash had an extremely vivid personality which attracted people wherever he went. In addition to his wit and unexpected outbursts of impudent retorts to kings as well as to common people, he possessed an unusual knack or ability of wearing clothes in a way to attract the attention of all people interested in good dressing. In consequence, Beau Nash became the chief arbiter of fashion during the years of his rule at Bath. Nash did not exercise so much ingenuity or initiative in starting new fashions as in adapting the fashions which came to the country, largely from France, and making them more suitable and attractive for British men.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century there appeared another dandy in England whose influence was still greater than either of the two already mentioned. *George Bryan Brummell*, born in 1770 and died in 1840, exercised an influence over men's fashions, not only in England but also to a very great extent in the United States and on the continent of Europe as well. Lord Byron characterized Brummell as one of the three greatest men of this time, the other two being Napoleon and, as students of Byron might expect, Byron himself. Brummell was educated at Eton Public School and later at Oxford.

Shortly before the opening of the nineteenth century, Beau Brummell became acquainted with the then Prince of Wales



PLATE 94. GEORGE BRYAN (BEAU) BRUMMELL, 1778–1840

Reprinted by permission of New York *Times*.

English society and fashion leader. Lord Byron characterized Beau Brummell as one of the three greatest men living at the time, the other two being Napoleon and, with Byronic modesty, Byron himself.

who later became George IV. The Prince of Wales made Brummell an officer in his own regiment, and there followed a close association in which Brummell was the prince's playfellow and advisor.

In 1798 Brummell gave up his captain's commission in the army and set up bachelor quarters in Mayfair, London. His success as a wit, humorist, sport and to some extent as a writer became the talk of the town in a short time. Like Beau Nash, Beau Brummell was noted for exquisite propriety in dress and Englishmen came to consult Beau Brummell on all sorts of sartorial questions.

Brummell, as well as Nash, was an inveterate gambler but, unlike Nash, was unable to gain anything from this type of activity, so that he exhausted in a few years a large fortune which he had inherited. About 1812 his relations with the Prince of Wales became strained for he had never hesitated to differ with the Prince nor to criticize him even in public. In the earlier days the Prince had not objected to this, but as he became older his toleration for Brummell's impudence declined. The Prince of Wales, however, apparently was not so popular with British society as Beau Brummell, for even after the prince had withdrawn his patronage Beau Brummell continued for some years to rule on questions of men's styles. Finally, in 1816, his accumulating debts from gambling forced him to leave England. He fled to France and then began a period of decline both in influence and in health, so that he was finally sent to an asylum in which he died in poverty in 1840.

Among Beau Brummell's contributions to men's fashions, it has sometimes been asserted that he was responsible for the adoption of men's long trousers in England. This, however, is improbable although it is possible that his approval of the fashion may have had much to do with its general adoption. Beau Brummell himself credited the Prince of Wales with starting the innovation, but this was probably a verbal honor

such as is heaped upon royalty and great men who in all times are credited with qualities, manners, quotations and innovations which they never thought of at all.

It is, however, likely that it was through Beau Brummell that general introduction was secured for such fashions among men as the shiny black shoe which before his time had not been customary, and the use of shoe blacking. Beau Brummell was also responsible for the reintroduction in the nineteenth century of starched shirts, collars and cuffs. Starched collars in the form of ruffs had, of course, been used for a long time in earlier centuries, but had passed out at about the period of the French Revolution.

Brummell's rule of fashion for men continued for about two decades, namely, from 1796 down to 1816. He was particularly powerful during the latter part of the period. The Englishmen who had fought in the war with Napoleon, on returning to England, laid aside their military uniforms and then followed Brummell more than any other single individual for inspiration on the styles to be adopted.

The increased use of linen and cotton, made possible by the development of British manufacturing during this period, was emphasized by Brummell who, it has been asserted, was the first prominent Englishman to adopt the practice of changing shirts as often as once a day. In fact, during the period of his greatest influence as fashion arbiter it was stated that he changed his shirts three times a day.

Perhaps Brummell's chief claim to preeminence in the art of dress was his eye for propriety and taste in line and tailoring, rather than the adoption of new or radical fashions. Brummell placed the greatest possible importance on skill in artistic workmanship. This fact became so well known that his patronage assured the commercial success not only of tailors but of hat makers, shirt makers, glove makers, hosiery and shoemakers. Such tradesmen vied with each other in the development of

better skill in order to secure the approval of Beau Brummell. As a result, his standards of taste served, no doubt, as an incentive to raise the general taste of production in all of these lines of apparel during the period of his rule.

The next man to secure outstanding prominence as a fashion leader in England was *Count Alfred D'Orsay,* born in France in 1801 and died in 1852. Count D'Orsay was probably one of the most handsome men of his time. He possessed a splendid physique and features that were said to have been very pleasing. In addition to his physical equipment for his coming leadership in fashion, he, like Beau Nash and Beau Brummell, was noted for his very keen, quick wit. He also possessed talent in the arts which his forerunners as fashion arbiters did not seem to possess. Count D'Orsay was classed as one of the best sculptors and painters of his time, as well as a writer of considerable ability.

In the same manner as Beau Nash and Beau Brummell, Count D'Orsay was well educated and served for a while in the army. In 1823, he met Lord Byron at Geneva who immediately took a fancy to him. Shortly thereafter he met Lord and Lady Blessington of London who induced him to come to London. He remained a member of the Blessington household for several years following. Lady Blessington apparently reorganized her home based on the plan of an old-time French salon and "Gore House," as it was known, became a center of elegance in London. Count D'Orsay assumed many of the functions relative to fashion that had formerly been exercised by Beau Brummell. It is probable that he exercised these functions with even greater art and finer discrimination than Brummell, but the times were not quite so favorable for development of fashion interest during the 30's and 40's while he was in London, as they had been in the early part of the century when Brummell ruled the fashion field.

Count D'Orsay was a strong advocate and supporter of



PLATE 95. COUNT ALFRED D'ORSAY, 1801–1852—A GREAT SOCIETY AND FASHION LEADER OF EARLY VICTORIAN DAYS IN LONDON

From New York *Times* Sunday Magazine.

Louis Napoleon, and the latter made a confidant of him on many matters up to the time when he became emperor. Then differences of opinion arose in which it appears that Count D'Orsay was very much opposed to the coup d'etat by which Napoleon had assumed the control of the government as emperor. Much the same as Beau Brummell, D'Orsay died in neglect and poverty.

Field, Nash, Brummell and D'Orsay, the best known individual fashion dictators among private men in modern history, are without counterpart in present times. There are fashion leaders, but none so slavishly followed as were these. Under present conditions the dandy is inconceivable. Fashion trends are now much more dependent upon groups than upon individuals.

In a sense, the development of this movement of dandyism, if it may be so termed, rose during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a protest against the rule of kings in the field of fashion, as democracy rose as a protest against the rule of kings in politics. Many innovations introduced through individuals or groups of individuals were by courtesy referred to the ruling heads when, as a matter of fact, they were not originated by either King or Prince of Wales. It is quite probable that this is equally true of later fashion developments. For example, during Queen Victoria's reign the Prince of Wales who afterward became King Edward VII, was credited with having initiated many fashions which are definitely known to have originated elsewhere. The Prince of Wales was simply credited with the innovations in order to lend emphasis to the fashion movement, so as to make them more successful commercially. This seems to have been true for both the "Prince Albert coat" and creased trousers. Neither was introduced by the Prince of Wales.

Similarly, even at present, many manufacturers and retailers announce styles as Paris fashions which may never have

seen Paris at any stage of their development, but which sell much better to an ignorant public because of their Paris labels. If the Better Business Bureau of this country should ever expand its field of activity to questioning manufacturers and merchants on the real origin of styles denominated French and Paris, there would certainly be many lines of goods that would have to have their designations changed.

Period from 1845 to 1870

The most outstanding fashion development during the period from 1845-70 was the general introduction of the so-called Prince Albert coat during the latter part of the 50's and 60's. Prince Albert's visit to the United States in the spring of 1860 undoubtedly added a great deal of impetus and emphasis to the movement for the adoption of this coat by well-dressed people in this country.

Throughout this period, both factory-made clothing for men and clothing made by tailors completely took the place of home-made clothing. Higher standards of apparel construction developed, so that a great deal more attention was given to line and detail than had formerly been customary. The high top hat, the chimney-pot, which had been the sole fashion during the preceding period, began to give way somewhat to a fashion for a soft felt hat which came into use first in the early 50's. Several forces contributed to the decline of the high top and the increase of the soft felt hat. First, the armies of American soldiers who participated in the Mexican War brought back with them as souvenirs many Mexican felt and straw hats. These attained something of the nature of a fad during the later 40's. Next, the gold rush to California in 1849 and 1850 helped the soft hat movement. The big, high, unwieldy top hat had little place in the equipment of the traveler. Finally, in 1851 the visit of a distinguished foreigner,

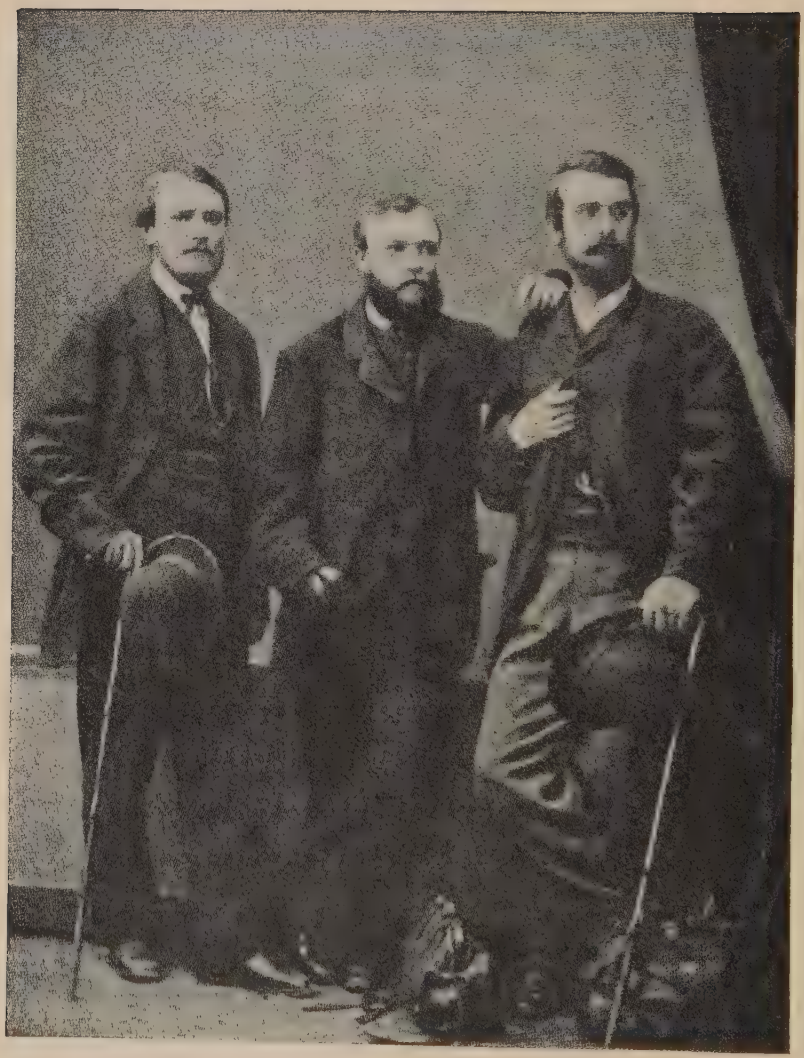


PLATE 96. MEN'S CLOTHING, 1865
From "Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company," by Bridge.



PLATE 97. YOUNG MAN DRESSED IN COSTUME OF EARLY 70'S
From "Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company," by Bridge.

Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, who wore a soft felt hat and whose visit attracted a great deal of enthusiasm wherever he went, helped to fix the fashion.

For outer clothing during the period from 1850 to 1870, heavy overcoats were used, but in addition all men possessed and used shawls and in some cases these were used instead of top-coats.

Another distinctive fashion for men during this period was a type of peg-top trousers, wide at the hips and narrow at the ankles, which had been introduced from France. Louis Napoleon had authorized a type of uniform for the French Army in which trousers of this type were a part of the regulation outfit. The influence of this style spread to other countries, including the United States.

Another interesting development of this period was the effort of many strong-minded, democratic Americans to compel American representatives to wear ordinary American apparel instead of the court dress and uniforms, such as knee-breeches, prescribed for presentation at foreign courts. American ambassadors to the European countries were ordered by the Secretary of the United States during President Pierce's administration to wear regular American costume. Trouble followed at nearly every European court, and for a period of several months the newspapers carried more news about the difficulties of American ambassadors trying to wear American business clothes at court functions than about the wars of that period.

Period from 1870 to 1900

In the years following 1870, interest in apparel for men in the United States declined to the lowest level that it has known in the history of the country. Generally speaking, men were more inelegantly and more shabbily dressed during this period



PLATE 98. A GENTLEMAN, 1875

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

than they had been at any time before. It was an era during which great industrial progress was made, particularly in pioneer sections of the country. The country was growing up, new resources were being developed, railroads were being built in every direction, mines were being opened up, and the intellectual movement of the time seemed to be in the direction of

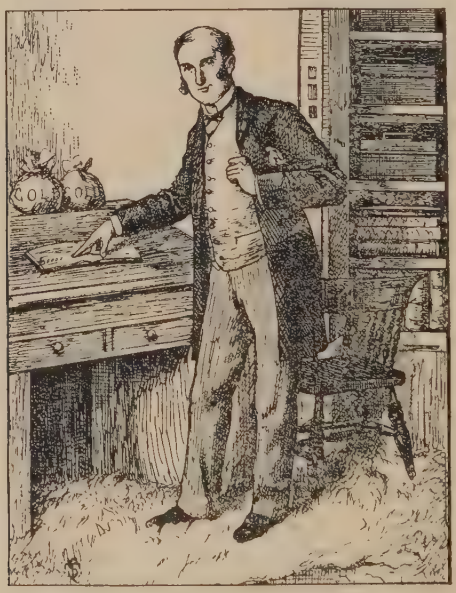


PLATE 99. DRESS OF SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS MAN, LATE 1880's

the utilization of the forces of nature rather than in such matters as fine clothing.

This was likewise the period during which factory-made clothing secured predominance over tailor-made clothing. In its earlier stages factory-made clothing was of very poor quality and poor in appearance. Gradually, however, it began to develop so that better grades of goods became available and suitable for people of higher incomes and better social position.



PLATE 100. RETAIL SALESMAN AND LADY, LATE 1880's
From "Successful Advertising," by Smith and Osborne.



PLATE 101. CORRECT BUSINESS DRESS, 1891

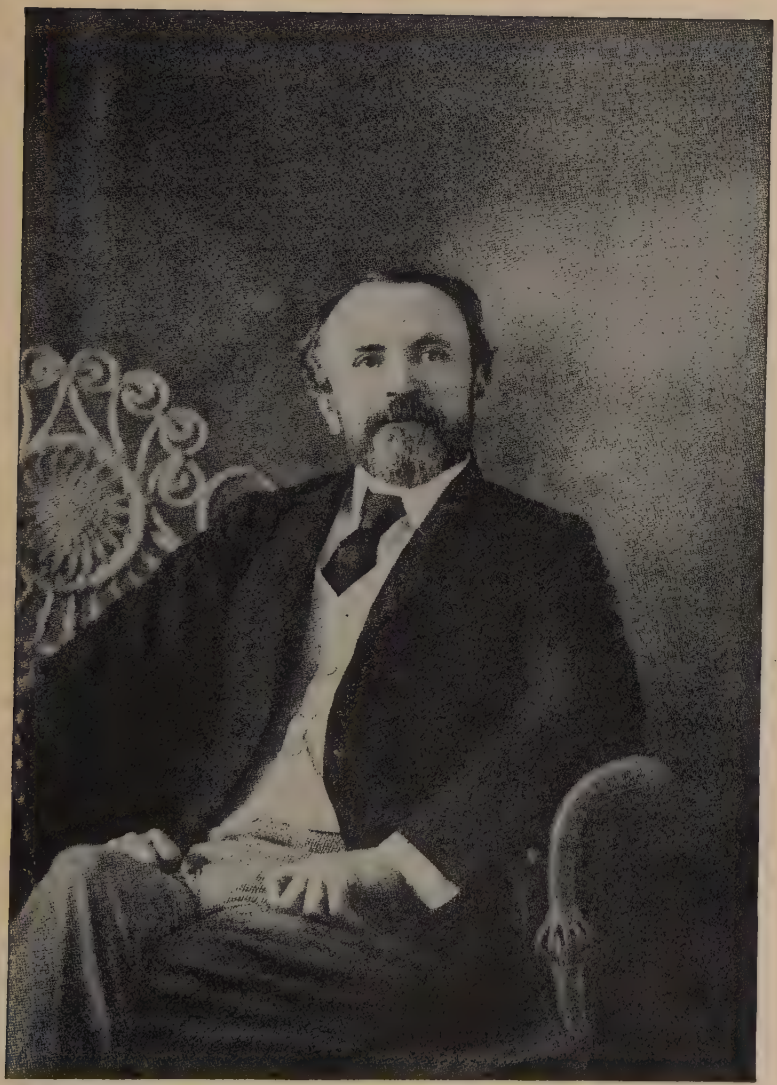


PLATE 102. BUSINESS DRESS, ABOUT 1895

From "Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company," by Bridge.

Note that coat, vest and trousers are made in different fabrics and colors. This was characteristic of men's clothing of the 80's and 90's.



PLATE 103. DRESS OF GENTLEMAN AND BUTLER, 1899

From "The Social Comedy." Copyright, Life Publishing Co., New York. Reproduced by permission.

By the end of the century, the factory-made clothing was the equivalent in style as well as workmanship of the tailor-made clothing of the preceding periods.

Period fom 1900 to 1925

Since 1900 there have been very few radical changes in men's apparel. Note may be taken of a few fairly important changes. During the first five or six years following 1900, the styles of clothing for men seemed to aim at emphasizing size and physical strength. Men in the clothing of the period from 1900 to 1905 looked like giant athletes. If clothing might be considered as typifying an age, then this should be called the athletic age for American men, for shoulders were, by means of padding, made very high and broad.

In the spring of 1906 this fashion changed, men's coats were made longer, some of the padding was removed. The peg-top trouser was introduced and this rather heavy type of suit continued from 1906 down to 1911 or 1912, when a shorter coat was adopted with a soft roll lapel, easier body lines, and still less padding.

With the opening of the European war the military influence made itself felt in clothing in America as elsewhere, by the development of a high waist-line, by well-accented collars that came closer to the throat and other similar touches of a military character. Then in the latter part of the war period, from 1918 to 1919, there came a period of production and consumption of men's clothing known as the jazz styles, also high waisted with waist seams, pinch backs, sometimes with only one button, and altogether extreme in appearance as men's apparel goes. In 1920 this type of clothing began to pass out and since then there has been but little change in outer wear, with the possible exception of the overcoat that about 1924 changed



PLATE 104. GENTLEMAN WEARING "PRINCE ALBERT COAT," ABOUT 1900
By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 105. APPAREL OF BUSINESS MEN AND LADY, 1900

From "The Social Comedy." Copyright, Life Publishing Co., New York. Reproduced by permission.

from the big double-breasted military or trench coat, to that of tubular line or design.

The most radical changes in men's apparel in the period since 1900 have been, first, in the decline in the amounts of clothing worn. This movement had already gained considerable headway before 1900, but more progress has been made since that time. For example, back in the 50's, underwear weighing as much as four pounds was in common use and the most frequently desired type of underwear was pure wool and dyed red. It was commonly believed that the red color had a beneficial therapeutic effect, although another reason urged for the red flannel underwear was that, in the imperfect development of the dye industry at that time, the use of red was a proof that the garment was made of pure wool unmixed with cotton. No red dye could be applied at that time to a mixture of cotton and wool without a streaky appearance due to the presence of two kinds of fibers.

In the early 90's, a new type of underwear was introduced, made from cambric, muslin or nainsook. Then in the early 1900's, athletic underwear, first in shirts and drawers and then later in union suits, began to be used, so that ten years later athletic underwear made of nainsook was in general use during the winter as well as the summer.

The invention and popular use of the automobile had its influence on men's clothing to a very marked degree as well as on women's clothing. The old linen duster which had begun to pass out in the 90's, before the automobile came into general use, was brought back into use again. In the early 1900's the automobilist was garbed in a linen or cotton duster coat, goggles and heavy cap. About 1905, new types of coats were devised for automobile use. The automobile has continued to be a highly important factor ever since in connection with the design of overcoats. Hats, too, have been influenced by the automobile. Probably the best reason for the decline of the

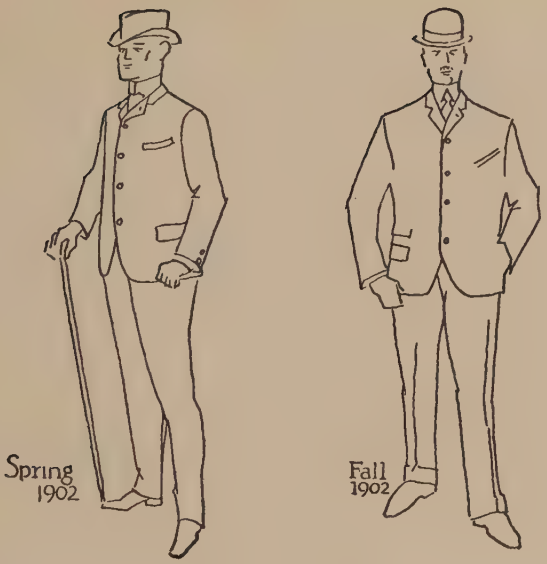


PLATE 106. 1902

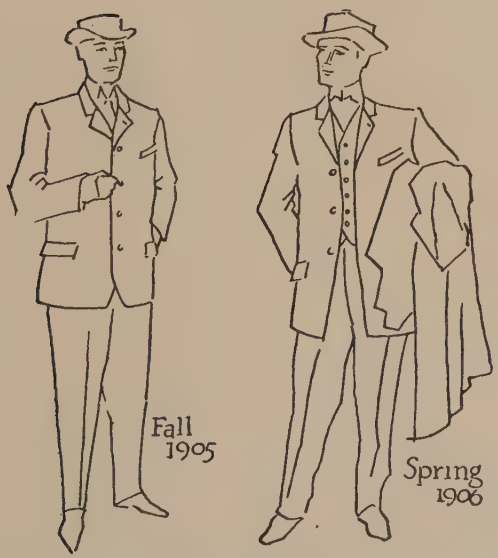


PLATE 107. 1905–1906

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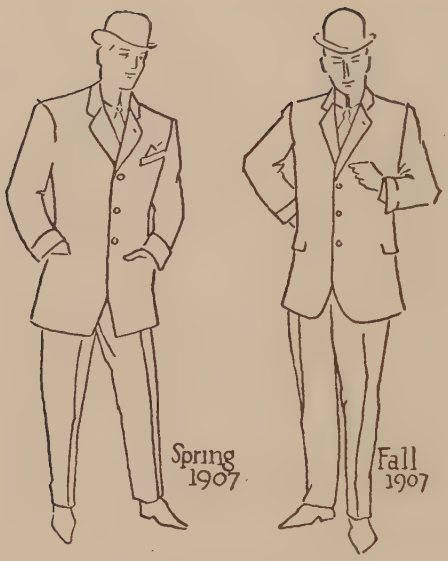


PLATE 108. 1907

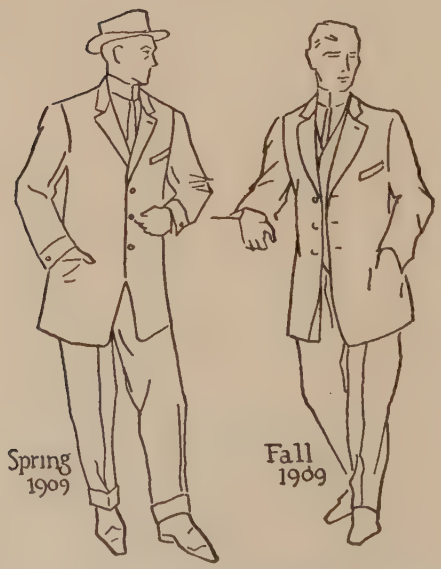


PLATE 109. 1909

Plates reprinted by courtesy of *National Retail Clothier,* Chicago, 1928.

use of the derby hat since 1910 has been its impracticability for use in automobiling. The same may probably be said for the stiff straw hat which formerly was an article of regular and general use every summer but which, during the last four or five years, has passed into considerable decline.

Another field in which styles for men have been decidedly improved and developed has been for sports. There has been a very regular though gradual increase in the use of knickers, particularly for golf and in connection therewith a movement for a great deal more color than was formerly used in men's apparel. It may not be impossible that through the medium of sports apparel men may again be influenced to take up the use of vivid colors such as prevailed in the eighteenth century. Sports clothing has had its revolutionary effect on women's apparel, and may likewise create effects equally startling in men's wear.

During the last twenty-five years the general movement in men's clothing has been in the direction of simplification. First of all, less clothing is worn and what is worn is of lighter weight than was formerly used. Men used to wear two or three weights of clothing, for summer, spring, fall and winter. Now most men wear suits of but one weight, a light weight, all the year round. They used to wear high shoes in winter and low shoes in summer. They now wear low shoes all the year round. They used to wear wool gloves or lined gloves in the winter, kid gloves for spring and fall. They now wear one weight of gloves all the year round. They used to wear flannel shirts in the winter and cotton in the summer, now they wear cotton all the year round. Somewhat similar to the movement that has developed in women's apparel, men are wearing a much higher percentage of silk hosiery than ever before. They formerly wore wool in the winter and cotton in the summer, but now wear silk all the year round.

The effects of some of these changes will be given consid-

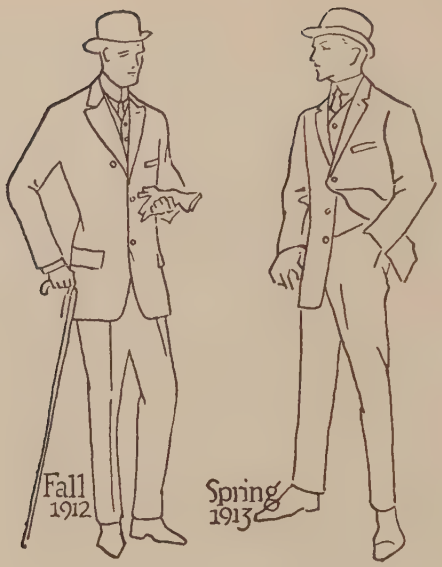


PLATE 110. 1912–1913



PLATE 111. 1917

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eration in another chapter on the manufacture of apparel. It may simply be noted in passing that such radical changes in

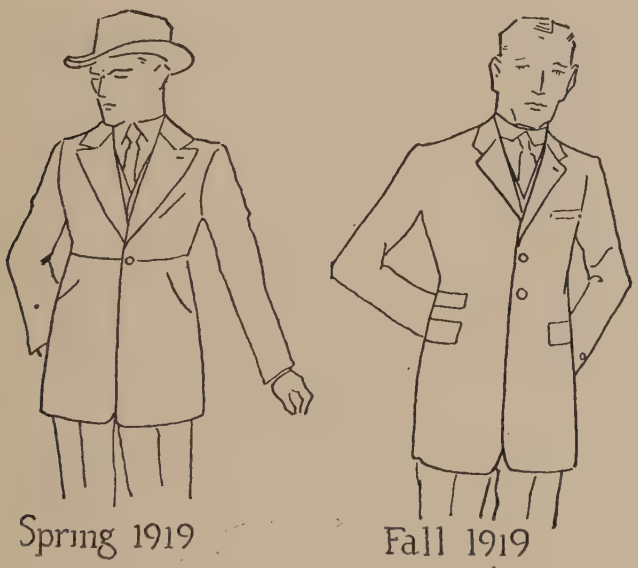


PLATE 112. 1919

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fashions have had the effect of making the problem of manufacture very much more complicated than ever before, with no tendency toward relief in sight.

CHAPTER XIV

FURNITURE STYLES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century, as has been shown elsewhere, was rich in its production of beautiful furniture styles. In France this included the periods of Louis XIV, Louis XV, and Louis XVI, and in England the outstanding furniture styles such as Queen Anne, Chippendale, Hepplewhite, the Adam Brothers, and Sheraton. The American colonies also boasted many skilled cabinet makers who largely followed the inspiration of the English designers and produced many pieces of refined lines and perfect craftsmanship.

Empire Style

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the French Empire style dominated furniture design. George Leland Hunter has described the Empire as the least interesting and least French of all styles developed in France. "It lacks the dignity of Louis XIV, the originality of Louis XV, and the grace of Louis XVI, it lacks refinement and it lacks spirituality."

The exponents of the French Empire style were Percier, and Fontaine. Their aim was to typify victory—and wreaths, torches, wings, lions, cornucopias and claws of lions, bears and eagles were used in great profusion. In the tapestries and upholsteries the letter "N" for Napoleon often appeared. The style was supposed to be of classic inspiration and many motifs were adapted from Greek and Roman decoration, such as honeysuckle, acanthus leaves, pineapples, columns, winged



PLATE 113. COLONIAL FURNITURE AND INTERIOR PRIOR TO 1800

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 114. EMPIRE PERIOD INTERIOR, 1800–1825
By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 115. AMERICAN INTERIOR. FURNITURE BY DUNCAN PHYFE SHOWING EMPIRE PERIOD INFLUENCE, 1800–1825

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 116. EMPIRE PERIOD INTERIOR AND COSTUME, 1800–1825

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

dragons and other fantastic beasts. After the Egyptian campaign, many Egyptian motifs were introduced into the decorations. No marquetry was used during this period, but much of the furniture was painted or gilded, and mahogany in plain surfaces or heavily carved was the popular material for the unpainted furniture.

The Empire furniture was heavy and clumsy with massive moldings and cornices lacking in grace. The legs were straight or curved or, on tables, sometimes spiral. Many of the tables had a pedestal base. The chairs, in many instances, showed Roman influence, having the front legs curved slightly forward and the back legs backward. Among the best of the Empire pieces were the couches and sofas which had the ends rolled over with a graceful Greek curve. The best examples of Empire furniture have a beauty expressive of dignity, stability and repose, but much of it was massive and overdecorated to the point of the grotesque. The home dominated by the Empire style was cold and sparsely furnished with many plain surfaces on the ponderous solid, durable furniture. Lithographs and mirrors had heavy, plain-surface frames. Sideboards had mirrors at the back and large glass doors in front. At the windows, carefully draped shawls were often used as curtains. The Empire style was widely copied and became the fashion both in England and in America. The Empire style also spread to Germany and Austria where it became known as the Bedermeier.

Duncan Phyfe

The outstanding American cabinet maker of the early nineteenth century was Duncan Phyfe, who carried over into the nineteenth century much of the beauty and refinement of the eighteenth. His earliest and best work done from 1795 to

1818 was largely influenced by the work of the Adam Brothers and Sheraton. This was followed from 1818 to 1830 by a period when his work was strongly marked by the influence of the French Empire, although his work was never so clumsily massive as most of the Empire furniture. Phyfe's work from 1830 to 1840, or during what is called his Victorian period, showed a marked degeneration and his pieces were heavy in design and manufacture. Most of Phyfe's furniture is of mahogany but during this latter period he followed the popular fashion in the use of rosewood.

The Empire influence in furniture and furnishings continued in America until about 1830. However, American cabinet makers made many adaptations and variations. Their interpretation of the Empire style was a liberal one. Throughout the period materials and workmanship were of the best Mahogany, often used as veneer, was the popular material. Four-poster beds of Colonial times continued popular, but following the massive trend of the Empire style the pillars were rather bulky and were heavily carved with pineapples and acanthus leaves. Day-beds became popular during this period. Pedestal tables abounded, the lyre motif being popular in the pedestal. Many of the legs on tables and chairs ended in the lion claw foot, the mountings and handles were of brass or pressed glass.

Renaissance Styles

During the first half of the nineteenth century, painted furniture also enjoyed a marked popularity. This seemed to have been an adaptation and combination of eighteenth century English construction with French colorings and decorative designs of rococo suggestion. From 1800 to 1817, Sheraton "fancy" painted chairs became quite fashionable. As con-



PLATE 317. RENAISSANCE OR NEOCLASSICAL PERIOD, 1820–1835

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



PLATE 118. EARLY VICTORIAN INTERIOR, 1840

By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

trasted with the Empire styles these chairs were of rather delicate line. The seats were of rushes, and gold-leaf designs decorated the painted portions of the chair. Between 1817 and 1835, a change in character in the painted furniture was noted. Gold-leaf work was superseded by bronze powder stenciling. The stencils delicately cut were similar to the gold-leaf decorations which they followed. The favorite designs were bowls of fruit and baskets of flowers. The popular ground colors for these painted chairs were black, showing red underneath, and dark brown which showed lighter brown marking. It was during this period that factory production began to take the place of the old hand methods in cabinet making. Wide slats took the place of those of balls and spindles, of turned cresting rails and turned seat fronts. The chair seats were of wood, rush or cane. This was also the period of the banjo clock, small painted table, Boston rocker and Hitchcock chairs.

In common with the other types of furniture, during the years from 1835 to 1845, the painted furniture entered into a period of decadence. The favorite background color was a muddy yellow, the stencils were clumsily cut and awkward in design. Many pieces had decorations of flowers painted in natural colors and combined with a confusion of rococo curves. Many ladder-back, rush-bottom chairs were manufactured during this period and it was also during this period that the overstuffed chair, which still continues to be popular, first came into use.

Black walnut came into use in the early 30's as a favorite wood out of which to make furniture. Its earliest use seems to have been in connection with a brief revival of Gothic styles. Later it was indiscriminately used in the manufacture of decadent Empire, colonial and rococo or Renaissance styles. By 1850 it was the most popular wood used in furniture making.

Effects of Change from Hand to Machine Production

Machine manufacture of furniture began on a large scale in the 30's. Steam had been applied to sawing lumber as early as 1815 but the circular saw was invented in 1825. By 1850, the production of furniture had reached a value of 15 million dollars. The development of manufacturing thereafter was very rapid. In 1860, production amounted to 25 million dollars and, in 1870, 68.5 million dollars.

As machine production increased, hand production declined. Furniture cheapened greatly both in price and quality. Design and construction grew steadily worse. Carvings became more and more grotesque, representing vines, flowers, fish, animals, and so on, worked out in a naturalistic manner. Increasing machine production of furniture was marked by lack of taste, lack of art and by deceptions. Glued ornaments took the place of the old hand carvings and ignorance of design and art principles led to the production of many atrocities. From 1830 to 1890 was the veritable dark age of furniture design, an era which is passed with shudders and averted gaze by most writers on period furniture and interior decoration.

Hair cloth, which had been invented about 1813, began in the 30's or 40's to be the favorite upholstery material and continued until the 70's, when it in turn began to give way to plush, usually red plush, but also in other colors.

The period from 1840 to 1880 was characterized by the use of black walnut and hair-cloth, marble-top tables and bureaus, crocheted table mats, tidies, worsted-work wall mottoes, what-nots, melodeons, wax flowers under glass, lambrequins and heavy velvet or chenille hangings and table covers. The carpets and wall papers added to the general confusion by having large naturalistic designs in brilliant colors.

One may get a picture of the interior decoration in the latter part of this period from a book by Harriet Spofford published



PLATE 119. MID-VICTORIAN "MUSIC ROOM," BY MUNKACSY, 1870
By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

in 1877: "Until recently, whenever anyone spoke of modern furniture two or three variations were instantly offered, one, faint and feeble representations of the splendor of Louis Quatorze with spindling legs and arms, cushioned and tufted and sufficiently luxurious, with boule-work and ormolu overlayed with gilding and underlayed with crimson mottling, losing the intention of the style and reaching little but the vulgarity inevitable without that; another, the stuffed and puffed and tufted chairs where no woodwork at all was visible; still another presented a series of padded panels of any odd shape, apparently, that happened to be handy to the maker, connected by bars either plain or turned, thick and awkward to the last degree."

The same writer speaks of the importance of bric-a-brac in the general scheme of home decoration: "As important a need as any is the cabinet, partly drawers, partly doors, partly open shelves, always to be of fine workmanship but not too much variegated itself with faience, plaques and fringed curtains, and gay leather, and in character with the woodwork of the chief furniture, it receives and keeps secure all the little treasures that belong nowhere else. Choice minerals perhaps, atoms of priceless china, the too precious album, historical relics, trophies of travel, little dainty curios, and fragile things that may have fallen into one's possession now and then to be displayed."

Victorian Gothic

Gothic furniture made its reappearance again about 1870 and continued in fashion for fully twenty years. Starting about 1850 in England and spreading somewhat later to the United States, architecture had been going through a development often called the Victorian Gothic. The trend to Gothic



PLATE 120. LATE VICTORIAN INTERIOR, 1880'S
By courtesy of *Harper's Bazar*.

furniture and interior decoration undoubtedly grew out of the architectural development.

Charles Locke Eastlake in England was the most ardent supporter of the movement for Gothic design in furniture. In a book, "Hints on Household Taste," published in London in 1868, this style was urged not only for furniture, but also for draperies, carpets and other details of interior decoration. Eastlake's influence on American furniture design and manufacture was profound. His ideas were widely adopted, so that the older rococo or Renaissance styles of painted furniture and other adaptations of earlier styles gave way to Eastlake Gothic. This style reached its highest point about the time of the Centennial Exhibition in 1876, but continued to exercise great prominence in public taste down to the 90's.

Eastlake's ideal was to return to craftsmen days of honest workmanship, but the followers of what is sometimes called the "Eastlake School" produced much that was the extreme of ugliness with jig-saw corners, cheap ornamentations, insets of metal and tile, queerly shaped panels and overemphasized hinges and handles.

However, it must not be presumed that the Victorian Gothic as sponsored by Eastlake was the sole type of furniture used by Americans in this period. The Victorian Gothic was simply one of the styles of furniture adopted by the masses since it could be made by machinery in great quantities and at low prices.

During the early 80's, the American homes of the very wealthy were crowded with heavy furniture of varying types. Much was of heavy wood intricately carved with all imagined motifs, and upholstered with tapestry or leather. Much was overstuffed with deep soft cushions and a profusion of heavy fringes, cords and tassels. Willow furniture was also popular at this time. Tables were seldom left bare, but were usually covered with heavy velvet, plush or chenille covers. In some

cases the cover was permanently attached to the table-top. Many rooms were in period styles, mostly copies of the French furniture of the eighteenth century. This furniture was, as a rule, placed against a background of very ornately carved wainscoting or panels with heavy velvet or tapestry window-hangings and portieres. Carpets were rich and heavy and even the ceilings were very often ornately paneled.

The Romanesque Style

The Victorian Gothic period met with opposition and competition of new styles both in England and America. As Victorian Gothic had started in England, opposition to it first appeared in England in the Arts and Crafts movement. But before this opposition reached America, another style ideal had taken root in America which led to an extensive and interesting furniture, interior decoration and architecture fashion cycle beginning in the early 80's and culminating in the latter 90's. This fashion was known as Romanesque and also Byzantine.

The Romanesque style seems to have originated, in its latter nineteenth century phase, in the architecture designed by H. H. Richardson, whose chief work of art, Trinity Church in Boston, is one of the best examples of building construction of the 70's. This type of architecture began to affect interior decorations of homes in the latter 70's and became the fashion in the 80's. In view of the fact that its immediate origins were wholly American, there were many who believed that it might become the national style.

The characteristic features of the Romanesque style were the almost universal use of golden oak for furniture, wainscotings, floors, stairways, balustrades, hand-rails, Roman motif moldings, carvings and decorative designs, and the use of the pointed acanthus leaf.

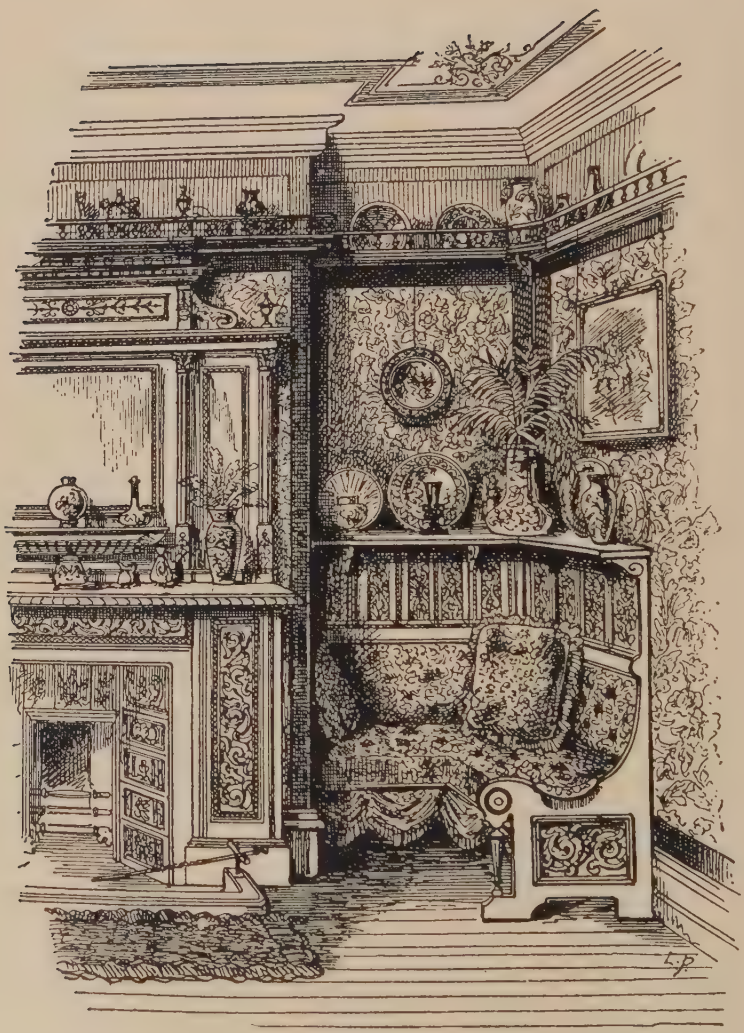


PLATE 121. COZY CORNER OF THE 90'S

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

There was a certain beauty and dignity in Romanesque furnishings when done well, but which, when reproduced by machinery in the mass production of the 80's, caused it to become monotonous. The World's Fair at Chicago in 1893 contributed to its decline by offering an entirely new type of architecture and new decorations. Certain elements of the Romanesque style of furniture are still popular such as oak hardwood floors and golden oak office furniture. Every city still has its examples of Romanesque architecture, now generally considered very ugly, built in the 80's and early 90's.

Revival of Eighteenth Century French Styles, 1889-1900

A World's Fair held in Paris in 1889 exhibited much new furniture made in the style of Louis XV and also some modernized Empire pieces that attracted much favorable attention. Furniture gilded or lacquered and ornamented in the style of eighteenth century France again awakened an interest among Americans who visited the Fair and started their planning of home furnishings in these styles. Others followed. So during the years since 1889, many rooms in homes of the wealthy, many hotel ballrooms and reception rooms have been decorated and furnished in these styles.

L'Art Nouveau Style

In the latter 90's and early years after 1900, an art movement known as L'Art Nouveau was started in France and spread in a measure to other countries including the United States. This was a definite attempt to turn away from the historic styles of ornaments, their place to be taken by forms derived directly from nature. The best of this furniture had refinement and grace of line, but the imagination of designers

soon carried this movement to extremes of ornamentation and the movement as a whole was short-lived.

The Arts-Crafts and Mission Styles

As early as 1861, a reform movement in furniture and interior decoration began in England against the Victorian Gothic. The leader in this reform movement was William Morris whose name is associated with the Morris chair which he designed.

Others who joined Morris in this movement were Edwin Burne-Jones, Walter Crane, D. G Rossetti, Holman Hunt, and Ford Madox Brown, all well known in the fields of arts and letters. This group hoped to create and reestablish craftsmen like those of the Middle Ages, their creed being honesty, frankness, and opposition to sham of all kinds. They employed no molding, carving, gildings or varnish. This movement applied not only to furniture but to tapestry, wallpaper and stained glass windows as well. This movement gained rapid headway during the 60's in England, but did not reach America until much later. Here the black walnut, hair cloth, red plush, Rogers statuary groups, the beribboned waste baskets, and Brussels carpets and rugs with animal and floral figures, still held sway until the 90's and even down to the early 1900's.

In the meantime, a style originated in America which showed a kinship to the Arts-Crafts movement in England, both in artistic spirit and form, the mission style. The first mission chair reached New York in 1894. It had been designed for use in a mission church in southern California. The design had been inspired by the simplicity of the early Spanish missions and it expressed simplicity, strength and sincerity. The material used was native ash. From this original chair other pieces of mission furniture were designed, all stressing straight line, simple construction, and absence of carvings,



PLATE 122. MISSION FURNITURE, 1905–1915
From "Artistic Homes," by Priestman.

molding or other decorations. Chair seats were of wood, leather or rushes. This furniture, simple in line and honest in construction, came as a relief from the period of meaningless, overdecorated and cheaply glued furniture which had immediately preceded it. It, however, proved too massive for general use and was modified and combined with the "Arts-Crafts" and "Craftsman" styles, and ending in what came to be known as "cottage furniture."

Craftsman styles became the dominant furniture fashion throughout the United States in the period from 1905 down to 1914. Books were published, periodicals were started, societies organized and spread, lecturers became eloquent, and the public schools of the country made Craftsman furniture and Craftsman designs the chief subject matter of their manual training departments. The "Craftsman" movement spread to textiles, jewelry and china. Thousands of people adopted Craftsman hobbies and toiled gleefully over hand-tooled leather scraps, clumsy bookbindings, awkward hand-hammered copper and brass trays and ash receivers, burnt leather handbags and burnt wood workboxes, built Morris chairs with backs adjustable at several angles, umbrella stands, costumers, installed imitation beam ceilings in their living rooms and bare board floors with occasional rugs or mats of handcraft designs, and scraped the varnish off their old golden oak Romanesque furniture, refinished it in "natural," "Early English," "Flemish," and "fumed" shades with waxed surfaces.

Under the hot inspiration and artistic fervor of the Craftsman fashion, heavy leather-covered cushions with heavy, amateurish-looking leather lacings at the edges were placed most carelessly at the backs of mission chairs, on the stiff, straight-backed, austere couches, and even on the floor. The living room bric-a-brac disappeared and the gigantic crayon portraits of members of the family were taken down from the living room walls and carried up to the garret.

The Craftsman fashion swept everything before it. The apostles of the movement from St. Francis of Assisi to Elbert Hubbard, "Fra Elbertus," founder of the "Roycrofters" shops in East Aurora, New York, as well as its founder, William Morris, became household words.

As the Victorian Gothic had completely displaced what was left of the decadent Gothic, colonial and rococo styles in the 40's and 50's, the Craftsman styles of the early 1900's drove out the last relics of the Victorian Gothic and much of the Romanesque as well.

The Craftsman styles, however, satisfying as they were as a reaction from the previous styles, were in time found tiresome and unsuitable. Toward the end of the period there began to be a feeling that Craftsman furniture might be suitable for bungalows, halls and porches, but that it was too heavy and too clumsy for general home use.

Revival of Eighteenth Century Styles

So the way was paved for the introduction of new fashions such as "cottage furniture," modifications of Craftsman and mission, and the rise of interest in eighteenth century period furniture, including a particularly strong fashion for Colonial and in genuine antique pieces. Since the war the favorite hobby of those who formerly dabbled in hand-tooled leather and mission furniture has been the quest of the antique.

Revivals of period designs in current fashions, whether in furniture or in apparel, as a rule do not last long. It may be presumed that the strong vogue for antiques and reproductions of eighteenth century period furniture that began in the years following the World War and which still continues at a somewhat modified pace in 1928, may soon pass out in favor of some style more fully expressive of the art and spirit of the times.





PLATE 123. MODERN ART FURNITURE, 1928

From *Furniture Record.*



PLATE 124. MODERN ART FURNITURE, 1928—ROOM DESIGNED BY MRS. PAUL REINHARDT

Reprinted by permission from *Vogue*. Copyright, 1928, Condé Nast Publications, Inc.

Modern Art Movement

It may be that in the modern art movement there are the possibilities of a new fashion in interior decoration and furniture that may reach important heights before it, too, must, give way to the next development to come.

The sharply defined, diagonal lines, the highly polished surfaces, the striking combinations of color and the unexpected use of light and shade, are some of the superficial aspects of the modern art. Its origins are apparently almost world wide, symbolic of international interest and application. Its influence has been felt in every art—in music, in architecture, in literature, in painting, in dancing, as well as in the applied arts, such as jewelry, dressmaking, automobile design and furniture.

Modern art seems to aim at a high utility as well as artistic effect. Furniture is made to fit modern apartments, and the modern apartment is itself an expression of this art movement —with its small-sized, built-in conveniences and comforts, luxurious appeal to the senses, cleanliness and practicalness. It is a movement that will bear watching most carefully. It may turn out to be one of the major fashions of the present century.

CHAPTER XV

FASHIONS ORIGINATING OR PROFOUNDLY INFLUENCED IN AMERICA

There is, as we have seen, a wholesale tendency to credit Paris with the creation of new fashions, regardless of where their actual origins may have been. It is, therefore, somewhat difficult to trace the geography of beginnings of fashions with certainty. Current advertising is, of course, most untrustworthy. Manufacturers, fashion journals, trade papers, and dealers whose investments have been heavily made in Paris prestige, help to confuse beginnings by keeping the spotlight constantly on Paris. Even the creators themselves, for commercial purposes, deny their own artistic offspring and point to Paris as the putative mother, a responsibility not unwillingly accepted, it seems, when the child turns out very successfully.

In the following pages of this chapter there will be presented some examples of past fashions that did not originate in Paris, but which had their beginnings in America or were at least profoundly influenced in America. After development in America most of them were taken to Paris and promoted therefrom to the world, so that they have generally been referred to by fashion periodicals, importers, manufacturers and retailers as Paris fashions.

The list given is very far from complete. There has not been sufficient opportunity to verify positively the point of origin for each fashion. Many items have been included on the information given by persons who have been in the style

business a long time. It is quite possible that some items have been included which do not belong here, but, on the other hand, the field seems so rich in prospect for further study that it would probably take a good-sized volume alone to present a comprehensive list of American styles that have become the fashion.

There are some arts in which America has come to be recognized as preeminent, such, for example, as in industrial organization and in the application of power to the production of goods. There is not much question concerning America's leadership in most that pertains to mass production. Americans hold their own in the useful arts, the trades and the professions. Americans themselves believe that they have ability comparable with any in engineering design and in advertising and the technique of sales promotion.

In the fine arts, American development in architecture of the skyscraper is generally recognized. Perhaps Americans might willingly forego the honor of first place in certain forms of modern music such as jazz, blues and popular dance music. But these, nevertheless, have been imitated and followed all over the world. American responsibility for fashions in dancing such as the "Charleston," the "Black Bottom," the "Shimmy," the "Turkey Trot," and many others cannot be shifted to Paris.

In the arts of painting and sculpture, American artists occupy a prominent position. In the arts and drama, America is now probably close to the top. Certainly, in the moving picture field America has outdistanced competitors.

In the arts applied to apparel and home furnishings, however, there seems to be a more or less strongly fixed belief that America possesses no originating power. It is even possible that the following illustrations may prove somewhat in the nature of surprises.

Shirt-Waists

That famous and well-known article of women's apparel which ruled supreme in America from the early 90's down to the period of the World War, the shirt-waist, apparently originated in America. It never received any strong approval from any Paris style house. In fact, its régime was decreed passé by Paris houses at least three times before 1909. While Paris style creators, when not actually in opposition were passive in their attitude toward this garment, American manufacturers exported shirt-waists to most of the countries of the world, including France. In 1908, the total exports of shirt-waists to France amounted to nearly a million dollars. In spite of the lack of support of this fashion by Paris dressmakers, the shirt-waist cycle went through its regular course, reached its peak about 1912 and then began to decline.

Walking Skirts

Separate skirts were, of course, a necessary part of the vogue for shirt-waists, but separate skirts have been produced and styled from the earliest days of antiquity. The change in fashion taking place in the 90's, bringing into use what was known as the walking skirt, short enough so as not to touch the ground, was also distinctly an American creation. This length was not taken up by the French dressmakers until



PLATE 125. WALKING SKIRT, "RAINY DAISY," 1900 [1]

Copyright, Curtis Publishing Co. By courtesy *Ladies' Home Journal.*

[1] The Rainy Day Club was organized in New York City to promote the use among its members and other women of skirts that did not sweep the ground. Their pleas for skirts reaching two to three inches above the ground were considered very radical. Members were nicknamed "Rainy Daisies" as were the skirts they advocated.

after the opening of the present century after it had become a fashion in America.



PLATE 126. WALKING SKIRT, 1917. NOTE MILITARY INFLUENCE ON DRESS
From "Woman as Decoration," by Burbank. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc.

Sports Clothing

England created practical sports clothing, not only for men but for women as well. The English people love outdoor life, and it is only natural that garments suited to outdoor life should have been developed there. Sports clothing was the

logical result. An important phase of sports clothing creation and production, however, developed in this country. Whereas the English produced sports clothes that were practical and comfortable, for the most part the English gave little attention to making these clothes artistic. In America there has been a constant development for more than twenty years to make them more beautiful. There has also been a trend to make sports clothes suitable for use in "spectator sports" and for all sorts of daytime functions or occasions. So there has come into existence in America such styles of sports clothing as jumpers, dresses, ensembles, sports dresses, sports hats, and so on, not only comfortable and practical in the extreme, but of artistic appearance as well. American sports clothes style has set the fashion for the world. Paris creators have been slow in following this lead, and even as late as 1920 there were several well-known style houses which had not yet recognized sports apparel for women.

Tailor-Made Suits

The tailor-made suit, as in the case of sports clothing, originated in England, but was adopted and came into very wide use in America during the 90's and early 1900's, long before the French ladies' tailors had seized upon its possibilities for further fashion development.

Divided Riding Skirts

As a preliminary step in the evolution of more comfortable clothing for women, it is interesting that the divided skirt for horseback and bicycle riding, which came into wide use in America in the early 90's seems to have been an American creation adopted later by France and other European countries.



PLATE 127. RIDING COSTUME, QUEEN VICTORIA, 1838

From "Queen Victoria," by Strachey. By courtesy of Harcourt, Brace and Company.

Unlined Clothing

In the 70's and 80's the fashion creations coming from the Paris dressmakers were literally monstrosities of construction as well as of style. All idea of comfort was omitted from their designs. There seemed to have been a fixed belief that all garments must be lined and interlined, making them hot, stuffy and insanitary. The first unlined skirts were made in America and this, it appears, was many years before they were produced that way in Paris. When Paris had finally taken up this fashion, the unlined skirt began to come back to the United States designated as "late French unlined models."

Miscellaneous Items

There follows a list of other items of style wear which either are now or have been powerful in fashion and which originated in America.

The jumper
The Gibson waist
The Peter Thompson suit for children and girls
The middy blouse
Women's athletic underwear
Women's gymnasium and athletic clothing
Knit underwear—Ribbed underwear for men, women and children is largely American.
Union suits
Silk and muslin underwear cut to simplest lines
Fine knit underwear in colors
The corsetless figure, known throughout Europe as the "American flapper figure"
Boyish silhouettes, including slim arms, slim legs, no bust, narrow hips, etc.
"Boyshform" brassieres, a typical American creation
The combination girdle and hose supporters

Several types of sweaters, Jersey garments, and other knit goods

The tendency toward shorter skirts beginning as far back as 1900 and again in 1913, 1921 and 1923. (While the tendency to short skirts has been world wide, Paris dressmakers have for the most part opposed this tendency and decreed its decline several times during the last twenty years, and in some cases in the face of the opposite tendency. Paris dressmakers have frequently been wrong on skirt lengths.)

Simplified bathing suits

The beach complexion fads. A vogue in complexion beginning in America in 1923 and 1924 and continuing down to 1928. This vogue reached Paris during the summer of 1927.

Cigarette-smoking by respectable ladies

Bungalow aprons

Rubber gloves for household use

Rubber heels for shoes

Rubber-soled shoes

Overshoes, particularly high overshoes worn with flapping sides

Long narrow-last shoes, called "American pumps" in Europe. (America is the point of origin of many other types of shoes including the strap pump so much in use in 1927 and 1928.)

Health shoes

Styles in nurses' uniforms, a field in which American fashion has gone much further than Europe

Helen Wills, eye shades

The use of talcum powder which is almost unknown in France

Tut-Anhk-Amen styles in 1923-24, which were adopted in France after they had reached considerable prominence in America

Pajamas for women

Hosiery in light and nude shades

Raccoon sport coats, and other fur coats for sport wear
Bobbed hair which in the belief of some was started by Irene Castle before the World War

As has already been pointed out, the foregoing list is tentative and incomplete. If the study could be carried back a generation or more it is certain that it would be much longer. If the study of style origins could be made general, it would undoubtedly be found that most countries have produced long lists of new fashions which in some way had reached Paris, and had been adopted and then reissued as Parisian styles. It does not seem too much to say that probably less than half of all of the new styles coming out of Paris are really originated in Paris. Those not created in Paris are merely launched there as a method of commercial promotion, or selling to a world that has come to expect new fashions to emanate from Paris.



PLATE 128. RIDING HABIT, 1889

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

French Style Creators Sometimes Wrong

Out of the great number of designs actually produced by the style creators in Paris, it is not surprising that the ma-



PLATE 129. RIDING HABIT, 1900



PLATE 130. RIDING HABIT, 1913. DIVIDED SKIRT
From *Harper's Weekly*.

jority should never amount to anything from the standpoint of fashion. A style house is, indeed, fortunate if out of its season's offerings of from 300 to 500 or even 1,000 models, five or six may become the fashion. Most of the so-called creators of fashion pass through season after season without any outstanding success in fashion origination. As a matter of fact, absolutely new fashions, as we have seen, may not be possible every season. Details may change, but not silhouettes every year.



PLATE 131. ARCHERY COSTUME, 1865

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

A revival of interest in outdoor life and athletics began in the early 60's. Archery was one of the activities that became a fashionable sport for women.

However, the fashion creators in Paris have so often been spoken of as the dictators of fashion that the public has come to expect prediction from them. In response to this desire for prediction some, at least, if not most of the Paris style creators have been led into rather ridiculous positions by making predictions that have utterly failed to come true. Among these may be mentioned the long, losing fight waged against the trend to shorter skirts already referred to. The trend of shortening skirts during 1921 and 1922 had been noted by the Paris dressmakers and was apparently believed by them to be merely a passing fad, so during the entire spring and summer of 1922 many, if not most, of the dressmaking houses predicted the decline of this fashion. The predictions of the Paris dressmakers were widely quoted all over the world.



PLATE 132. CROQUET COSTUME, 1868

From "Historic Costumes in America," by McClellan. Copyright, Macrae Smith Company. Reprinted by permission.

Croquet succeeded archery as a fashionable outdoor sport in the late 60's and continued in popular favor down to the 90's.



PLATE 133. TENNIS OUTFIT, 1889



PLATE 134. TENNIS OUTFIT, 1917



PLATE 135. TENNIS OUTFIT, 1928

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Fabric makers were jubilant over the fact that skirts would have more yardage. American manufacturers of women's apparel, as usual, followed the lead of the French couture and proclaimed to their customers that skirts were going to be longer. Apparel retailers, ever keen to exploit a new fashion, took their cue from both Paris and domestic manufacturers, bought, displayed and tried to sell garments with longer skirts.

It was at this point that trouble began. The consumer, who had not been in at the conferences at which it was decided that skirts were going to be longer, had of course read that skirts were going to be longer in the women's fashion magazines, but hadn't made any such decision. In fact, it seemed that they were quite unready to accept the Paris couturiers' views on how their apparel should be made, so the sales of garments with longer skirts slowed up. In cases where sales were made, retailers were asked to shorten the skirts, so that alteration expenses mounted rapidly. During the fall of 1923 and spring of 1924, retailers poured in their complaints to the manufacturers that consumers were not interested in longer skirts and that apparel would



PLATE 136. BICYCLE COSTUME, 1898

The general acceptance of the use of the bicycle by fashionable women doomed the trailing skirts. Knickers were designed and used in bicycle riding, but short skirts, that is, two to four inches from the ground, were more frequently used and then were adopted for general day time wear.



PLATE 137. MID-VICTORIAN BATHING SUITS, ABOUT 1870

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.



PLATE 138. BATHING SUITS IN THE GAY NINETIES, ABOUT 1895

Reprinted by courtesy of Mr. Culter, author, and Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, New York, from "Gay Nineties."





PLATE 139. BATHING SUITS, 1900 AND 1913

From "The Social Comedy." Copyright, Life Publishing Co., New York. Reproduced by permission. Figure to right from *Harper's Weekly*.



PLATE 140. BATHING SUITS, 1928

By courtesy of Abercrombie & Fitch Co., New York.

have to be made with shorter skirts in order to cut down alteration expense. So instead of skirts growing longer as the Paris dressmakers had predicted as early as the spring of 1922 and continued persistently throughout the entire year 1922, skirts actually became shorter and shorter during all of 1923, 1924,



PLATE 141. SKATING COSTUME, 1865

From "A Hundred Wonderful Years," by Peel. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc., New York.

The skating frame was in general use throughout the latter 60's. Empress Eugénie in France was very fond of skating and used this type of frame.

1925, 1926, and paused only when they reached the tops of the knees in the early part of 1927.

Some of the worst errors in prediction made by the Paris dressmakers have been those connected with the effort to bring back certain articles of apparel which were going out of fashion. Among these might be mentioned the persistent efforts made for several years, in and out of season, to bring back



PLATE 142. SKATING COSTUME, 1917, AND SKIING COSTUME, 1925

The first figure is from "Woman as Decoration," by Burbank. The second figure is from "The Smartly Dressed Woman," by Burbank. Used by permission of Dodd, Mead & Co., Inc.

ostrich feathers in one form or another as a part of fashionable apparel. Another has been the effort, during the last seven or eight years, every season without fail, to predict a coming fashion of wider hats, a prediction that failed completely. From 1921 down to the present writing (1928), not a season has passed in which the tailored suit has not been proposed by leading Paris houses as a coming fashion, and in not a single season in that time has the tailored suit been a generally accepted fashion.

That prediction is a dangerous business even for Paris style creators is obvious, and this fact seems to have impressed some of the leading couturiers deeply. While there are some who do not hesitate either in making absolute predictions a year, two years or twenty years ahead on what are going to be the fashions, or in taking personal credit for originating the successful fashions of the past, the majority of the heads of Paris houses are now much more guarded in their statements, and when asked to predict are likely to make their statements very general and conditional. Before the World War, it appears that there were several style creators who even believed that they were fashion dictators. The tendency seems to be toward more moderation in this respect. Predictions, when they do appear, are more often very obviously propaganda for other industries, such as special forms of jewelry, ostrich feathers, rayon, woolens, cottons, and so on.

CHAPTER XVI

TECHNICAL AND INDUSTRIAL ADVANCE IN THE PRODUCTION OF FASHION GOODS

The nineteenth century was characterized by the introduction of machinery and power into the production of practically all lines of fashion goods. What took place in other directions and in other fields of work also took place in the development of machine-made clothing. Hand-tailoring and sewing were replaced by machine work.

Mechanical Inventions

The industrialization of clothing production resulted from the development of such inventions as the sewing machine, which was invented in 1846 and came into general use during the following ten-year period. Cutting machines which could be used in cutting many thicknesses of cloth at one time were produced in 1876, and then later followed other machines such as button-sewing, buttonholing, felling, pressing, lapel, collar and shoulder-making machines, and so on. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, following the introduction of machines which were first operated by hand and foot power, steam and electricity were utilized. The use of steam power was found impracticable and the use of electricity advantageous in every way, so that for the last twenty-five years electricity has furnished practically all power applied in the manufacture of apparel.

The development of machines and power in the apparel industry, while exceedingly important, has probably not been equal to the development of the use of machines and power

in most other industries. In fact, there are few if any fields in which the application of power has been so limited during the last fifty years as in the production of clothing.

Labor Specialization

There has, however, been a very high specialization as well as division of labor in the apparel industry. Where formerly hand tailors and dressmakers produced the entire garment, industrialization has led to a specialization in which individuals in garment factories make at most but a small part of any finished garment. Specialization has also resulted in workers making but one type of garment. Rarely do people who work on one type of garment transfer to work on other types of garments. Thus, coat-makers hardly ever change to factories making dresses or trousers.

Instead of the tailor's work being but one occupation, there have arisen several distinct trades, such as cutting, fitting, machine-operating, pressing, hand-sewing, examining, shaping, busheling, and so on. To a certain extent, both in men's and women's apparel, there has been some differentiation between work done by men and other kinds of work done by women. For example, cutting, fitting, trimming, busheling, examining and pressing, in both men's and women's apparel factories, are largely done by men; while hand-sewing, buttonhole making, buttonhole sewing, and so on, are largely done by women. Considering the country as a whole, operation of power machines is work that is done by both men and women in about equal numbers.

Localization of Clothing Production

The manufacture of apparel is largely concentrated in the metropolitan areas. For example, New York and its sur-

TABLE I. SURVEY OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF CLOAKS AND SUITS

Prepared under the direction of Mr. A. D. Whiteside, President of The Wool Institute, Inc.

NUMBER OF CONCERNS BY VOLUME OF SALES

CONCERNS WITH SALES OF:	NEW YORK CITY		OUT OF TOWN		COMBINED	
	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Total Sales
$1,000,000 and Over	78	$156,850,000	14	$23,000,000	92	$179,850,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	161	103,125,000	26	18,025,000	187	121,150,000
$250,000–$500,000	276	90,300,000	51	16,125,000	327	106,425,000
Below $250,000	406	54,034,000	175	22,962,000	581	76,996,000
Total	921	$404,309,000	266	$80,112,000	1,187	$484,421,000

NUMBER OF CONCERNS BY SALES AND PRICES OF GARMENTS

CONCERNS WITH SALES OF:	No. in Survey	No. Reporting	Under $4	$4 –5	$5 –9	$9 –12	$12 –15	$15 –20	$20 –25	$25 –30	$30 –35	$35 –45	$45 –55	$55 –70	$70 –100	Over $100
NEW YORK CITY:																
$1,000,000 and Over	78	78	10	10	24	40	44	57	53	57	56	60	51	43	35	26
$500,000–$1,000,000	161	161	14	24	45	73	82	113	107	119	102	108	91	75	56	37
$250,000–$500,000	276	268	23	34	74	106	115	179	170	195	184	198	163	142	96	52
Below $250,000	406	382	61	79	125	155	165	231	218	230	200	225	191	161	123	72
Total	921	889	108	147	268	374	406	580	548	601	542	591	496	421	310	187
OUT OF TOWN:																
$1,000,000 and Over	14	10	5	6	6	5	5	7	7	9	9	9	8	8	8	2
$500,000–$1,000,000	26	24	2	3	6	9	9	14	13	14	15	20	19	14	11	6
$250,000–$500,000	51	39	5	8	12	19	19	24	23	27	26	31	31	30	19	16
Below $250,000	175	145	16	24	39	55	61	108	109	115	109	112	94	83	57	28
Total	266	218	28	41	63	88	94	153	152	165	159	172	152	135	95	52
COMBINED TOTALS:																
$1,000,000 and Over	92	88	15	16	30	45	49	64	60	66	65	69	59	51	43	28
$500,000–$1,000,000	187	185	16	27	51	82	91	127	120	133	117	128	110	89	67	43
$250,000–$500,000	327	307	28	42	86	125	134	203	193	222	210	229	194	172	115	68
Below $250,000	581	527	77	103	164	210	226	339	327	345	309	337	285	244	180	100
Total	1,187	1,107	136	188	331	462	500	733	700	766	701	763	648	556	405	239

TABLE 2. SURVEY OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF DRESSES AND COSTUMES

Prepared under the direction of Mr. A. D. Whiteside, President of The Wool Institute, Inc.

NUMBER OF CONCERNS BY VOLUME OF SALES

CONCERNS WITH SALES OF:	NEW YORK CITY		OUT OF TOWN		COMBINED	
	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Total Sales
$1,000,000 and Over	125	$228,850,000	14	$ 22,000,000	139	$250,850,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	166	109,475,000	88	31,850,000	254	141,325,000
Below $500,000	996	210,725,000	421	86,510,000	1,417	297,235,000
Total	1,287	$549,050,000	523	$140,360,000	1,810	$689,410,000

NUMBER OF CONCERNS BY SALES, PRICES OF GARMENTS AND FABRICS PURCHASED

CONCERNS WITH SALES OF:	Silks	Linens	Woolens	Cottons	Rayons	Wstd.	Wool Knit	Silk Knit	Under $6.75	$6.75	$7.00 to $10.50	$10.75	$11.00 to $16.50	$16.75	$17.00 to $22.75	$23.00 to $35.00	Over $35.00
NEW YORK CITY:																	
$1,000,000 and Over	125	16	75	31	30	27	18	17	17	23	22	49	34	46	37	29	25
$500,000–$1,000,000	166	11	55	19	25	45	18	17	26	40	31	68	48	70	54	48	46
Below $500,000	996	85	451	179	146	168	106	80	221	269	224	440	330	431	351	320	246
Total	1,287	112	581	229	201	240	142	114	264	332	277	557	412	547	442	397	317
OUT OF TOWN:																	
$1,000,000 and Over	14	3	9	6	5	4	—	—	3	2	3	4	5	7	7	6	4
$500,000–$1,000,000	88	1	9	3	3	7	2	1	1	1	3	5	5	6	3	4	4
Below $500,000	421	88	295	123	116	136	67	42	123	123	131	202	221	249	237	200	60
Total	523	92	313	132	124	147	69	43	127	126	137	211	231	262	247	210	68
COMBINED TOTALS:																	
$1,000,000 and Over	139	19	84	37	35	31	18	17	20	25	25	53	39	53	44	35	29
$500,000–$1,000,000	254	12	64	22	28	52	20	13	27	41	34	73	53	76	57	52	50
Below $500,000	1,417	173	746	302	262	304	173	122	344	392	355	642	551	680	588	520	306
Total	1,810	204	894	361	325	387	211	157	391	458	414	768	643	809	689	607	385

TABLE 3. SURVEY OF THE MANUFACTURERS OF MEN'S WEAR

Prepared under the direction of Mr. A. D. Whiteside, President of The Wool Institute, Inc.

NUMBER OF CONCERNS GROUPED ACCORDING TO SALES

CONCERNS WITH SALES OF:	NEW YORK CITY		OUT OF TOWN		COMBINED	
	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Approximate Sales	No. of Concerns	Total Sales
MEN'S AND YOUNG MEN'S SUITS:						
$1,000,000 and Over	69	$181,150,000	127	$435,037,000	196	$ 616,187,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	92	61,600,000	106	73,250,000	198	134,850,000
$250,000–$500,000	211	68,255,000	193	63,034,000	404	131,289,000
Below $250,000	371	49,477,000	352	44,797,000	723	94,274,000
Total	743	$360,482,000	778	$616,118,000	1,521	$ 976,600,000
PANTS:						
$1,000,000 and Over	4	$ 15,750,000	11	$ 23,000,000	15	$ 38,750,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	6	3,700,000	17	11,650,000	23	15,350,000
$250,000–$500,000	18	6,150,000	27	8,861,000	45	15,011,000
Below $250,000	46	5,573,000	77	9,132,000	123	14,705,000
Total	74	$ 31,173,000	132	$ 52,643,000	206	$ 83,816,000
BOYS' CLOTHING:						
$1,000,000 and Over	1	$ 1,750,000	2	$ 3,500,000	3	$ 5,250,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	14	9,662,000	1	525,000	15	10,187,000
$250,000–$500,000	33	10,100,000	8	2,550,000	41	12,650,000
Below $250,000	79	11,022,000	19	2,273,000	98	13,295,000
Total	127	$ 32,534,000	30	$ 8,848,000	157	$ 41,382,000
COMBINED TOTALS:						
$1,000,000 and Over	74	$198,650,000	140	$461,537,000	214	$ 660,187,000
$500,000–$1,000,000	112	74,962,000	124	85,425,000	236	160,387,000
$250,000–$500,000	262	84,505,000	228	74,445,000	490	158,950,000
Below $250,000	496	66,072,000	448	56,202,000	944	122,274,000
Total	944	$424,189,000	940	$677,609,000	1,884	$1,101,798,000
Sales of 249 Miscellaneous Cutters*						295,335,000
Sales of Mens wear Cutters using Woolens and Worsteds exclusively						$ 806,463,000

* These miscellaneous cutters are included in the detail of the tabulation but they also manufacture other than woolen or worsted garments. The total of 249 includes 23 Manufacturers of Wash Suits, 45 Manufacturers of Work Clothes, 12 Jobbers of Dry Goods, who also manufacture, 138 Manufacturing Retailers and 31 Manufacturers of Top-coats and Raincoats.

Table 4. Survey of the Manufacturers of Men's Wear*

Prepared under the direction of Mr. A. D. Whiteside, President of The Wool Institute, Inc.

NUMBER OF CONCERNS BY SALES GROUP AND GRADE OF PRODUCT

Concerns with Sales of:	Grade of Clothing						
	High	Medium	Low	High and Medium	Medium and Low	High, Medium and Low	Total
Men's and Young Men's Suits:							
$1,000,000 and Over	18	76	6	43	42	11	196
$500,000–$1,000,000	12	91	4	34	44	13	198
$250,000–$500,000	20	230	7	58	64	25	404
Below $250,000	40	474	21	90	75	23	723
Total	90	871	38	225	225	72	1,521
Pants:							
$1,000,000 and Over	—	1	1	3	10	—	15
$500,000–$1,000,000	—	1	3	1	17	1	23
$250,000–$500,000	1	8	3	4	25	4	45
Below $250,000	3	45	11	5	51	8	123
Total	4	55	18	13	103	13	206
Boys' Clothing:							
$1,000,000 and Over	—	2	—	—	1	—	3
$500,000–$1,000,000	—	3	1	2	9	—	15
$250,000–$500,000	—	17	5	3	16	—	41
Below $250,000	2	56	8	9	23	—	98
Total	2	78	14	14	49		157
Combined Totals:							
$1,000,000 and Over	18	79	7	46	53	11	214
$500,000–$1,000,000	12	95	8	37	70	14	236
$250,000–$500,000	21	255	15	65	105	29	490
Below $250,000	45	575	40	104	149	31	944
Total	96	1,004	70	252	377	85	1,884

* This sheet is the complement of Table 3 of the Men's Wear Survey. The sales of these concerns are given in Table 3.

rounding suburban area produces nearly three-fourths of all of the men's, women's and children's apparel of the United States. Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, St. Louis, Boston, Cincinnati and Los Angeles follow in order of importance. The accompanying charts (Tables 1 to 4) show the position of New York in the manufacture of women's apparel at the close of 1927.

The chief necessities of the apparel industry, in addition to a plentiful skilled labor supply, are convenience of location to the markets for yard goods on the one hand, and to the markets for the sale of the finished products on the other. Proximity to other manufacturers and the opportunity to observe at close hand what the leading fashions are, and, it must be added, to enable the rank and file of the manufacturers to copy garments which the more successful concerns are producing, are some of the leading reasons for the concentration of the apparel industry in the largest cities.

Mass Selling

Another characteristic of the industrialization of clothing production is the development during the last fifty years of mass selling, through the help of national advertising and of sales organizations covering wide areas.

Historical Survey of Clothing Industry

A better understanding of the present status and importance of the apparel industry, together with the trends in methods of production and distribution, may be obtained by taking a backward look and observing the stages through which the industry has passed in this country. A statistical survey of the growth of the apparel industry is presented in Tables 5 to 7 and Figure 143.

Colonial Era

In colonial days prior to the Revolution, most garments were made in the home. There were a few tailors and seamstresses in the larger cities. These were employed by the

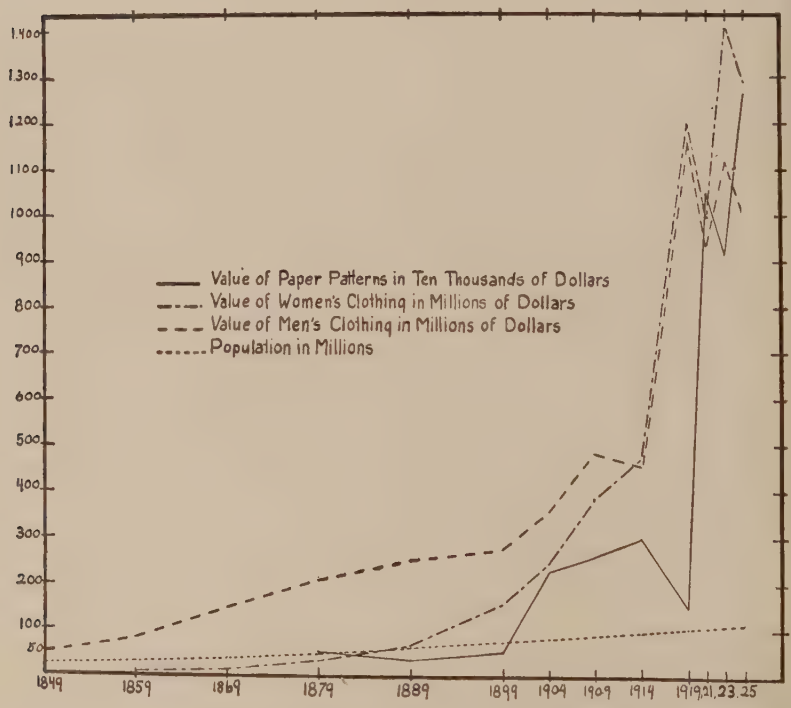


PLATE 143. GROWTH IN VALUE OF MANUFACTURE OF MEN'S AND WOMEN'S CLOTHING AND PAPER PATTERNS

U. S. Census of Manufacture, 1849-1925.

wealthier people. It was also customary for both men and women of financial means to import a part of their fine garments from Europe.

There were many well-to-do people living in America who

TABLE 5. GROWTH OF THE MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1849–1925

Year	Number of Establishments	Average Number of Wage-Earners	Wages	Cost of Materials	Value of Products
1849.....	4,278	96,551	$ 15,032,340	$ 25,730,258	$ 48,311,709
1859.....	4,014	114,800	19,856,426	44,149,752	80,830,555
1869.....	7,858	108,128	30,746,579	86,794,706	148,660,253
1879.....	6,166	160,813	45,940,353	131,363,282	209,548,460
1889.....	4,867	144,926	51,075,837	128,846,857	251,019,609
1899.....	5,729	120,927	45,496,728	145,218,798	276,717,357
1904.....	4,504	137,190	57,225,506	185,793,436	355,796,571
1909.....	5,584	191,183	89,644,921	252,522,567	485,677,493
1914.....	4,830	173,747	86,828,000	230,032,000	458,211,000
1919.....	5,258	175,270	197,822,000	605,752,000	1,162,986,000
1921.....	4,539	165,206	201,882,000	447,545,000	934,776,000
1923.....	4,607	194,820	235,487,000	584,804,000	1,178,715,000
1925.....	4,000	174,332	203,847,000	557,471,000	1,087,238,000

TABLE 6. GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1859–1925

Year	Number of Establishments	Average Number of Wage-Earners	Wages	Cost of Materials	Value of Products
1859.....	188	5,739	$ 1,193,000	$ 3,323,000	$ 7,181,000
1869.....	1,847	11,696	2,514,000	6,838,000	12,901,000
1879.....	562	25,192	6,661,000	19,559,000	32,005,000
1889.....	1,224	39,149	15,428,000	34,277,000	68,164,000
1899.....	2,701	83,739	32,586,000	84,705,000	159,340,000
1904.....	3,351	115,705	51,180,000	130,720,000	247,662,000
1909.....	4,558	153,743	78,568,000	208,788,000	384,752,000
1914.....	5,564	168,907	92,574,000	252,345,000	473,888,000
1919.....	7,711	165,649	195,296,000	680,407,000	1,208,543,000
1921.....	7,061	144,865	185,082,000	567,810,000	1,022,742,000
1923.....	7,046	133,195	176,446,000	809,561,000	1,406,684,000
1925.....	6,127	126,466	175,045,000	724,299,000	1,293,705,000

Table 7. Statistics of Production of Men's and Women's Apparel

U. S. Census of Manufactures

Apparel Lines	Value of Products (Expressed in Thousands)										
	1869	1879	1889	1899	1904	1909	1914	1919	1921	1923	1925
Total Men's and Women's Wearing Apparel (not including custom-made)							$2,241,753	$5,524,996	$4,556,655	$5,776,522	$5,499,854
Men's Wearing Apparel: (1849: $48,312; 1859: $80,831)							625,647	1,524,802	1,246,464	1,566,468	1,462,313
Clothing (not custom-made)	$148,660	$209,548	$251,020	$276,717	$355,797	$485,677	458,210	1,162,985	934,776	1,178,714	1,087,237
Buttonholes			784	681	700	781	638	1,090	646	804	658
Collars				15,769	12,587	17,230	18,530	47,564	29,571	42,666	27,587
Furnishing goods (not elsewhere classified)		11,506	29,870	43,902		42,130	52,453	107,834	77,526	102,951	120,867
Shirts		20,130	33,639	47,122	50,971	82,399	95,815	205,327	203,944	241,331	225,962
Women's Wearing Apparel: (1859: $7,181)	12,900	32,004	68,164	159,339	247,661	384,751	628,599	1,539,810	1,367,056	1,782,237	1,680,676
Clothing (not including custom-made)							473,888	1,208,543	1,022,742	1,406,683	1,293,705
Corsets		6,495	12,402	14,451	14,862	33,257	40,550	75,541	75,600	78,047	77,114
Millinery and lace goods (not elsewhere classified)	6,513	9,578	18,047	29,469	50,778	85,894	114,160	255,724	268,713	297,505	309,856
Men's and Women's Apparel:							987,505	2,460,383	1,943,134	2,427,817	2,356,864
Boots and shoes		176,517	245,358	290,047	357,688	512,797	555,582	1,271,958	961,508	1,131,817	1,041,317
Other than rubber							501,760	1,155,041	867,475	1,000,078	925,383
Rubber		9,705	18,632	41,089	70,065	49,720	53,822	116,917	94,032	131,739	115,934
Fur goods			20,526	27,735	37,118	55,937	43,632	173,137	139,365	198,042	254,265
Gloves and mittens (not made in textile mills)		*7,379*	*10,103*	*16,926*			21,614	75,160	40,068	66,206	62,824
Cloth								28,220	15,212	28,125	25,666
Leather	3,998	7,379	10,103	16,926	17,740	23,630	21,614	46,940	24,855	38,000	37,104
Hats and caps							83,330	166,212	123,182	159,276	160,991
Hats—fur felt				27,811	36,629	47,864	37,349	82,745	52,614	75,253	80,066
Hats—wool felt			3,591	120	100	309	1,944	6,739	4,964	8,643	8,948
Hats—straw					10,357	21,424	25,443	32,187	28,616	32,569	28,153
Hats and caps (other)					12,954	13,689	18,593	44,539	36,987	42,811	43,822
Knit goods		29,167	67,241	95,833	137,076	200,143	258,912	713,139	634,073	848,176	809,960
Suspenders, garters and other elastic goods (not including surgical goods)						28,350	24,432	60,774	44,935	24,297	27,504

regularly sent orders to London for garments to be made to the measurements that were kept for them in London tailor shops. Women kept in touch with fashions in London by having their friends in England send over costume dolls, dressed from head to foot in the fashions of the season.

It is interesting to note that up to 1776 practically all of these importations were made from London. Up to the opening of the Revolutionary War, London was the style center for the American colonies. Even though the France of the eighteenth century had established style and fashion leadership for the world, French styles came through England and London before coming to America. After the Revolution the Americans turned directly to Paris for fashion inspiration.

Early Nineteenth Century

Following the Revolution, in the period from 1781 to 1830, a great change took place among the masses of the American people as to their interest in fashion. In the early years of the republic, business conditions were difficult and times were hard. There was very little interest in any of the arts. In 1791, Alexander Hamilton's report on manufactures indicated that from two-thirds to four-fifths of all apparel used by the colonists was made at home. With the opening of the nineteenth century, the government became more stable and business became more secure and prosperous, with the result that fashion interest began to develop and the itinerant tailor began to be a recognized factor in apparel production. The itinerant tailor made his rounds through the small villages and country, visiting families twice a year for periods of a week or two to assist in making the more important and finer clothing demanded by the family.

Following the War of 1812 and down to 1830, the United States gained enormously in wealth. This period of prosperity

was accompanied by a tremendous growth of interest in fashion.

Beginnings of Ready-to-Wear Clothing

By 1830, beginnings were made in the production of ready-to-wear garments. The first clothing made on a commercial scale, for resale on a ready-to-wear basis, was produced in New Bedford about 1830 for the sailors of the whaling ships that outfitted and started from this port. These clothes were of the roughest and poorest quality, but the venture of advance production proved successful, and within two or three years several concerns had been established in New Bedford to supply this demand. Other dealers engaged in the same business were established in Boston, New York and other port towns. Among these concerns were Brooks Brothers, now one of the best known and most successful houses in New York, who made their beginning in the sale of ready-to-wear apparel, in handling clothing for sailors.

The next market to be developed for ready-to-wear clothing appears to have been in the South. Prior to the 40's, the slaves on the various plantations had made their own clothing, but the boom in cotton-growing throughout the South developed to the point where the negro laborers could be more profitably employed, particularly during the summer months, in cotton-growing and cultivating. For this reason, the simple clothing demands for these laborers came to be supplied on the ready-to-wear basis. Dealers' organizations sprang up in several cities to take care of this demand, notably in Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Memphis, Charleston and New Orleans, as well as in New York and Philadelphia. The business of supplying rough working clothing for the slave laborers of the South grew to large proportions in the period from 1840 down to the opening of the Civil War in 1861.

The next important accession to the demand for ready-to-wear clothing came with the opening of the gold fields in California in 1849. The urgent need for supplies and clothing in the rush to get to California, and, later, the requirements from the miners located in California, made a profitable business out of production and sale of ready-made garments. This demand was largely cared for by dealers located in Chicago, St. Louis and New York. The Chicago and St. Louis dealers took care of the requirements of the miners who went over land, and the New York dealers of those who went by water.

Among the concerns that made successful beginnings in supplying the California miners was Browning, King and Company, which is now one of the largest chain store organizations in the men's clothing field. This concern helped to outfit miners leaving both from Chicago and New York, and at one time sent shipments of clothing to San Francisco to be sold directly to the miners in California.

Another factor contributed greatly to the rise of the ready-to-wear business in men's clothing, and that was the second-hand clothing business. From the earliest days in the Colonies, there had been second-hand clothing dealers, transacting a normal amount of business, but in the rapid development of the country that took place from 1830 to 1860, during which period railroads were built, mines were opened up, roads and transportation systems were developed, the old system of manufacture of clothing within the home by women became entirely inadequate for supplying the demand for clothing, particularly for the unattached men engaged in industrial labor in the new sections of the country.

Having no homes and no wives, sisters or daughters in homes to produce clothing for them, great numbers of men turned to the second-hand stores for replenishment of their clothing needs. Up to 1830, this demand had not been greater

than the supply. During the 30's, and more particularly in the 40's, the demand grew completely beyond former bounds, so that second-hand clothing dealers almost of necessity turned to the expedient of having clothing made new to be sold ready-made to their customers.

Previous to 1850, all clothing was hand-sewed and the so-called manufactured clothing referred to above was provided by dealers who purchased fabrics, cut them up, and then made arrangements for having them sewed into garments by women in nearby homes. As this business increased, fabric patterns were sent out over a wider and wider radius of territory, so that before the introduction of the sewing machine in the early 50's, most of the ready-made clothing was sewed by farm women and women living in the smaller villages throughout the entire northeastern section. A large part of the work was done during the winter time, for these women were generally engaged in outdoor work on farms during the summer. The garments made by hand in the way indicated above, included shirts, coats, trousers, jackets and overcoats. They were all of relatively poor quality and intended to be sold at low prices, to be used largely by unskilled and low paid working men.

Clothing Production During the Civil War

In the period of the Civil War, from 1861 to 1865, revolutionary changes took place in the ready-to-wear manufacturing industry. First of all, at the outbreak of the war, the factories that had built up a large business of manufacture of working clothing for the negro laborers of the South lost their entire plantation business. This resulted in several bankruptcies in the clothing industry in such towns as Cincinnati, Memphis and St. Louis. Within six months of the opening of the war, how-

ever, government orders began to be distributed for uniforms for soldiers, so that, before the end of the year, clothing manufacturing concerns that had formerly supplied the southern plantations found that they had more work than ever to do in handling government orders. The urgency for uniforms was so great that hand-sewing which still prevailed proved entirely inadequate. Consequently, the demand for sewing machines was much intensified by the war. Factories were built and more and more employees were brought back into the industry. The larger proportion of clothing workers, however, for many years to come continued to be women.

Post-Civil War Period

It was feared that the close of the war would bring ruin to many factories that had been built up to take care of the government requirements for uniforms, but when the armies of men returned to civilian life their desire for civilian clothes could not be handled at all in the pre-war manner. A ready-made apparel was demanded. Great numbers of the soldiers moved westward and entered into industrial work where it was practically impossible to have clothing made for them in homes. There was no other way in which clothing could be supplied except by factory systems. So, during the period from 1866 down to 1870, the demand for ready-made apparel grew by leaps and bounds.

So far, there had been no distinct trend toward the manufacturing of better grade apparel. All ready-made clothes were poor in quality and cheap in price. In the days of the manufacture of apparel for sailors in the early 30's, such garments had been called "slop" clothes. After the Civil War, they also came to be called in the slang of the time, "hand-me-downs." "Store clothes" always carried the connotation of

"cheap and nasty" in the minds of the well-to-do people of the country who still patronized tailors for their garments.

The Influence of the Panic of 1873

The development of better quality of apparel came as a by-product of the business depression of 1873. As a result of this depression, great numbers of wealthy and even middle-class people suffered great losses and in consequence it was impossible for many of them to replenish their clothing needs by going to tailors as they had theretofore. They were practically driven to the retail stores to buy ready-to-wear. Many of the people, up to that time accustomed to tailor-made garments, supplied themselves with entire outfits of garments. Many more continued to patronize tailors for coats, but began to buy trousers that were ready-made. Thus there developed a large separate industry in trousers which continued down to the early part of the twentieth century.

The resort to ready-to-wear clothing stocks by people who had formerly been well-to-do and who had always had their clothing made by tailors, not only had the effect of increasing the demand for ready-made clothing, but also of creating a demand for better quality of clothing.

The period of depression of 1893 to 1895, and, again, the panic of 1907, had similar effects in driving additional numbers of people who had formerly patronized tailors to ready-to-wear retail stores. In each case there resulted decided tendencies toward developing better grades of clothing. This movement, however, seemed to have reached its climax with the panic of 1907, for during the business depression of 1921 the clothing industry, in common with practically all industries, suffered a serious decline with no change in demand such as had been noticed in the previous periods of hard times.

The Rise of the Manufacture of Women's Apparel

The rise of manufacture of women's apparel followed that of men's apparel with an interval of but a few years. As early as the 40's, there began to be ready-made garments for women, such as cloaks and mantles, offered for sale in retail stores. Following the Civil War there was an enormous increase in demand for women's apparel, particularly for coats and cloaks, and early in the 70's, the beginning of a demand for suits. From the 80's down to 1910, the number of manufacturers of women's cloaks and suits grew rapidly. From 1909 to 1914, the cloak and suit industry suffered some reverse and merely held its own. After 1914, the suit business began to decline, but the manufacture of coats continued as before. There were, of course, many changes in the industry due to changes in fashion. Following 1914, light coats for spring and fall came into use, which were for the most part unknown in earlier days. The suit business reached its peak in the ten-year period from 1905 to 1915. The period from 1895 to 1905 is frequently spoken of as the age of the plush coat, because of the great vogue for this material in women's coats at that time.

The production of other classes of women's apparel, including waists, dresses, muslin underwear, house dresses, and children's and infants' goods, received a very great impetus following the period of business depression of 1893. The first shop to manufacture women's waists in New York City was established in 1891. By 1895 there were six organizations, and by 1900 there were over 400. The demand for shirt-waists grew very rapidly, so that this part of the industry progressed more than any other branch down to 1910, when it is estimated that there was an annual production of shirt-waists of at least $60,000,000 a year in New York City alone. The demand for shirt-waists began to decline about 1912 or

1914, and continued to decline until this type of garment all but disappeared in 1919. Most of the organizations that had formerly made shirt-waists turned to the manufacture of dresses, which increased very rapidly after 1914.

The manufacture of muslin underwear and white goods, as they were called, developed rather slowly up to 1900, but after that production increased very rapidly down to 1912. Since then, the industry has about held its own in value of production, although, particularly since the period of the World War, there have been great fashion changes which have altered the nature of the products manufactured.

The production of house dresses, or wrappers as they were first called, grew rapidly after 1900. From about 1910 down to 1916, wrappers were gradually displaced in factory production by the demand for and manufacture of kimonos. Since 1916 the main demand has been for house dresses.

Children's and infants' dresses and other apparel were the last to develop commercially. Such garments continued to be made in homes for a longer period than apparel for adults. While the manufacture of children's and infants' apparel began in the early 90's and had attained some growth by 1900, the most rapid development in this field has taken place since 1914.

Rise of Miscellaneous Clothing Manufactures

The manufacture of boys' apparel seems to have started in the 70's, or even earlier, but began to be really important after the period of business depression in 1893 and grew rapidly, paralleling the growth of ready-to-wear men's apparel down to 1910, and has since held its own in relation to the growth of population and income of the country.

As already indicated, the separate manufacture of trousers grew very rapidly after 1873. It was not customary during the 80's or even the 90's to wear complete suits of clothes of

the same fabrics. Coats were usually made of one type and color or design of fabric, vests of another and trousers of a third. The demand for complete suits of one fabric began in a large way about 1900. As the complete suit business developed the separate trousers industry declined, so that at the present time the manufacture of separate trousers is confined very largely to flannel and other fabrics for use in sports, heavy work, overalls, and so on.

Beginning about 1919 manufacturers and retailers of low and medium-priced men's clothing began to feature men's suits with two pairs of pants with each suit. This feature has apparently proved very successful and has, of course, resulted in a greater decline in the production and sale of separate trousers.

Competition of Tailors

One of the interesting developments in connection with the growth of the ready-made apparel industry was the competition between custom tailors and manufacturers. Tailors in all parts of the country began to lose ground following the panic of 1873, but with the general recovery of business and the rapid growth in population, the trend of custom-made clothing again moved upward, but without any appreciable effect in the upward trend for manufactured clothes. The two branches, representing the old and the newer methods of production, continued to parallel each other down to 1893. After that the production of men's clothing by machine methods forged ahead of the production by custom tailors to such an extent that, by 1900, the factory product amounted to at least twice as much as the custom product. Inasmuch as this is a comparison in values, the number of garments produced by manufacture must have been many more than twice the number of garments made by custom tailors. Since 1900, with

the improvements in quality of men's apparel as produced by factories, ready-made goods have steadily gained, so that at the present time probably less than 10% of all the men's garments made in this country are produced by custom tailors. (See Table 8.)

One of the factors which greatly cut into the production by custom tailors and at the same time greatly influenced the production of the regular clothing factories, was the development of the so-called "tailor to the trade" shops that began to spring up about 1900 and increased rapidly down to 1907-1908. Tailors to the trade first made special sizes for dealers who could not secure these sizes from the regular manufac-

Table 8. Number of Tailors and Tailoresses in the United States

	Total	Tailors	Tailoresses
1880	133,756	81,658	52,098
1890	188,625	123,516	64,509
1900	230,277	161,299	68,684
1910	204,608	163,795	40,813
1920	192,232	160,404	31,828

turers. Later they spread their activities to the manufacture of all sizes by making it possible for retail dealers to take orders for clothing by using style books and cloth sample swatches. Dealers offering to their customers the services of tailors to the trade were able to present a variety of styles and fabrics usually much greater than that offered in the ready-to-wear stocks carried by their competitors. So the business developed by retail dealers on made-to-measure garments drove out the regular custom tailors in the villages and small cities of the country on the one hand, and also hit the regular retail clothiers carrying regular stocks of goods. Many clothing stores, and particularly general merchandise stores that had

formerly carried stocks of ready-to-wear garments, gave up their stocks and became agents for tailor-to-the-trade concerns. This in turn hit the big wholesale men's clothing houses who had been the main sources of supply of the small retailers. The tailor-to-the-trade system of production and distribution may be assigned as one of the chief causes of the rapid decline in importance of the clothing wholesaler, as well as an important cause of the disappearance of the country and village custom tailor.

Changes in Apparel Trade Since 1900

Other important changes in wholesale and retail distribution were bound up in the development of the ready-to-wear apparel business. There was a rapid development, following 1900, of department stores and mail-order houses which for the most part bought their lines directly from manufacturers instead of from wholesalers. The increasing interest in ready-made apparel both for men and women also had the effect of reducing the trade in yard goods in the smaller drygoods stores of the country, and later when the automobile came into use and good roads were constructed, people from all parts of the country districts were able to visit larger cities, so that the small town drygoods store, as well as the clothing shop handling stocks of ready-to-wear, suffered in competition with the big city department stores and specialty shops.

In conclusion, several important factors have helped during the last twenty years to increase the demand for ready-to-wear among which may be mentioned national advertising of a very high grade, particularly for men's clothing. Since 1900 several excellent lines of men's apparel have been steadily advertised to the public, with the undoubted result that general consumption of men's ready-made apparel has gone further than it would if there had been no such advertising. Practically all

lines of men's apparel from head to foot are represented in national advertising. This is not quite true in women's apparel in which advertising has been mainly for such items as shoes, hosiery, underwear and corsets. Advertising of outer garments for women has been done only in a limited way, and has probably had little effect in the direction of increasing general consumption of these goods. The volume of women's apparel demanded in ready-made form is the result of general economic forces and of the trend of fashion rather than anything that has been contributed by advertising and sales promotion.

The World War greatly changed women's work and activities. The great increase in interest in outdoor life and sports for women, the growth of the feminist movement, and the increase in the number of women engaged in various lines of business activity, have all tended to cut down home sewing and increase the demand for ready-made apparel.

Altogether, the keen competition within the ready-made apparel industries, backed by the growing demand of the consuming public for these goods, have helped to develop one of the largest industries in existence in the country, and progress has been made to the point where women are now dressed more cheaply and at the same time more beautifully than ever before in the history of the world.

CHAPTER XVII

TRENDS IN APPAREL PRODUCTION SINCE 1918

During the period of the World War, in common with many other industries, the manufacture of apparel both for men and women was greatly curtailed, and a large part of the capacity for manufacture of men's apparel was turned into production of military clothing for the army.

Heavy Demand Following War

After the armistice was signed and restrictions were removed from the production of apparel, a very strong public demand asserted itself for practically all kinds of ready-made clothing. Soldiers coming back from the army were keen to get back into new civilian clothes, and the people at home, both men and women, who had economized and refrained from buying now manifested an active desire for new apparel.

Therefore, immediately after the war, the factories producing both men's and women's apparel were flooded with orders, and for many months continued to enjoy full capacity production. Wages were high and spending continued freely throughout the entire year of 1919. Silk shirts were worn by laboring men, and silk clothing of all kinds came into general use among women and girls who had formerly looked upon such items as luxuries.

The Depression of 1920-1921

This extraordinary demand upon the production facilities of the country resulted in rapidly rising prices. By June,

1920, public demand for apparel reached its climax and then began to decline rapidly. People suddenly rebeled against the prices asked for clothing and in many cities expressed their opposition by public demonstrations, overall parades and so-called consumer strikes. Demand fell off rapidly during the last half of 1920 and production in 1921 in practically all apparel lines with the exception of millinery was considerably below production in 1919. Millinery under the impetus of

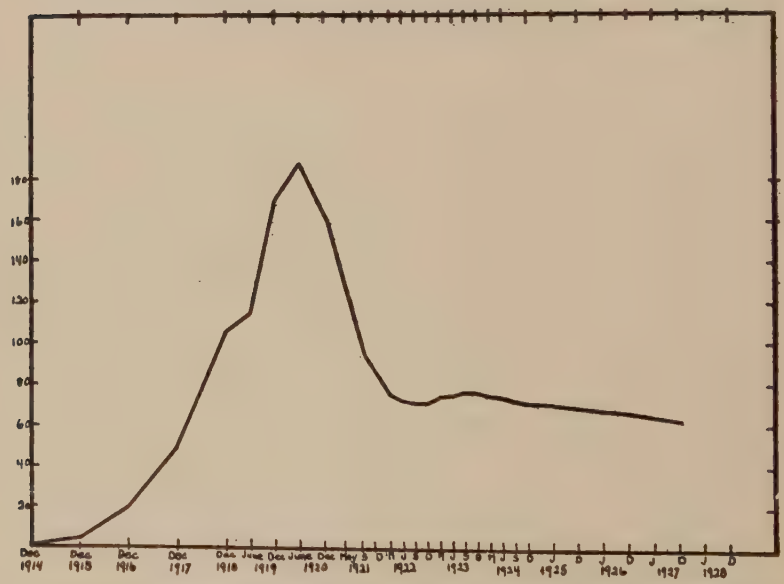


PLATE 144. CHANGES IN COST OF CLOTHING IN THE U. S., 1913-1927, PERCENTAGE INCREASE OVER 1913

From figures in *Monthly Labor Review*, February, 1928.

changing fashion, showed a decided increase in output of from $255,000,000 in 1919 to $268,000,000 in 1921. By 1923 there had been quite general recovery from the depression of 1921, and consumer demand for clothing was again somewhere near normal.

The problems confronting the ready-to-wear industry following the depression of 1921 were, for the most part, novel and unprecedented. There was little in the past experience of the industry of help in meeting these conditions. It will be interesting to take note of what some of these problems were and how they have been met by the clothing industry.

Overcapacity

In the first place, it was found that the production facilities far exceeded the requirements of consumer demand, not only for the consuming public of this country but for such export demands as existed after 1922. This overcapacity has been estimated at not less than 50% in excess of what it should be to balance consumer demand.

It is not difficult to find the reasons for this overcapacity. For one thing, it is an easy thing to establish oneself in the manufacture of apparel. The most expensive form of equipment needed is the sewing machines. These are easily obtained, either new or second-hand, and may be moved quite readily from place to place. There are entirely too many machines available for production. In 1924 an investigation made in the New York market showed that, out of a total of 15,896 machines then in the industry, only 11,433 were in operation in the height of the season.

It is generally agreed by all familiar with the ready-to-wear industry that there are entirely too many concerns operating or attempting to operate in this business. The small amount of capital required in establishing oneself in the business, the fact that there are few other requirements—outstanding qualifications that would otherwise prevent many from attempting to enter the industry—conspire to make the ready-to-wear industry one which great numbers are continually trying to break into, and one in which great numbers are continually dropping

out. There are only about twenty workers per plant on the average in the ready-to-wear industry of the country, and according to the investigations made in the New York industry in 1924, in 45% of all of the concerns in existence, there were less than fourteen machines per concern.

It is also generally agreed that there are entirely too many workers in the apparel industry. According to the United States census the number has been declining somewhat, particularly in the period from 1923 to 1925. The total number of persons employed in the wearing apparel industry, counting all branches, amounts to over 900,000 persons. The number of persons engaged in the manufacture of better apparel for men is about 175,000, and the number engaged in the manufacture of women's outer apparel is somewhat more than 126,000. Probably both the public as well as the workers in these industries would be better off if the number could be reduced by at least 25,000 persons in the men's clothing industry, and a like number in the women's clothing branches. There are probably at least 15,000 too many workers in the women's clothing industry in New York City alone.

With conditions such as described above—a multitude of small plants, too many machines and too many workers—it is not surprising that, following the business depression of 1921, there should have been and still is a keen problem on how to prevent overproduction and a buyer's market. This is one of the most difficult problems facing the apparel industry.

Another factor of this complicated industrial situation of many plants and a small average number of employees per plant, is the difficulty in working out suitable labor relationships. There are very few industries in which there have been so many abuses of labor as there were in the earlier days of the apparel industry, and there are very few industries in which the problems of labor have been so bitterly fought as in the apparel industry. Strikes have followed each other in quick succession since 1919, and while a good deal of effec-

tive machinery has been set up to eliminate the old abuses and to alleviate the bitterness of contest, the relation of labor and capital in the clothing industry is more nearly like that of an armistice between warring nations than anything else to which it may be compared.

General Decline in Sales of Apparel

Two other very important factors in the post-war situation of the apparel industry creating special difficulties which even at the present writing have not been solved, are, first, the positive decline in demand for ready-to-wear apparel for both men and women, and, second, the rise of the stock house or jobbing organization as the most powerful factor in the distribution of women's ready-made apparel. (See Tables 9 and 10.)

Consumer demand for ready-to-wear has declined, not only relative to population, but also absolutely. The dollar value of men's clothing produced in 1925 was less than in 1919. There have been very great declines in demand for several types of women's apparel.

Rise of the Apparel Jobber

In relation to the rise of the stock house or jobber, while this has been most prominent in the ready-to-wear field for women, there has also been something of a tendency toward the development of jobbing organizations in the field of men's and boys' apparel as well. Both of these factors will be discussed in greater detail further on.

Growth of Consumer Interest in Fashion

Another problem facing the ready-to-wear industry following the depression of 1921 was the growing importance of style and fashion. In the period from 1921 down to 1927, large

TABLE 9. INDEX NUMBER OF SALES BY DEPARTMENTS OF 53 RETAIL STORES IN THE FOURTH (CLEVELAND) FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT *
(1924 = 100)

	1927	1926	1925	1924
Hosiery	136.0	121.5	109.7	100.0
Negligees	135.8	134.9	110.3	100.0
Infants' Wear	129.2	117.1	107.1	100.0
Jewelry	124.0	102.9	93.2	100.0
Aprons, House Dresses	123.8	107.3	100.3	100.0
Leather Goods	120.8	110.6	99.6	100.0
Juniors' Ready-to-Wear	120.3	115.9	111.3	100.0
Furs	119.4	120.3	109.2	100.0
Ribbons	118.8	99.2	101.1	100.0
Books, Stationery	118.7	109.4	100.6	100.0
Knit Underwear	115.3	118.1	106.1	100.0
Women's Shoes	115.3	114.0	105.1	100.0
Women's Dresses	115.0	111.2	103.0	100.0
Men's Furnishings	114.3	112.5	105.3	100.0
Boys' Wear	112.7	111.3	104.6	100.0
Gloves	111.1	110.6	98.7	100.0
Petticoats, Slips	109.7	107.0	100.9	100.0
Men's Shoes	109.6	106.2	106.6	100.0
Muslin and Silk Underwear	109.5	105.9	103.2	100.0
Misses' Ready-to-Wear	109.4	103.7	102.4	100.0
Musical Instruments	108.6	111.5	112.1	100.0
Draperies, Lamps, Shades	107.8	104.8	102.4	100.0
Toilet Articles, Drugs	105.2	104.0	104.8	100.0
Handkerchiefs	105.2	105.9	103.8	100.0
Neckwear	102.6	112.7	106.7	100.0
Women's Coats	100.8	98.0	101.0	100.0
Furniture	100.2	102.1	99.2	100.0
Notions	99.9	98.7	98.0	100.0
Millinery	99.5	103.5	101.0	100.0
Luggage	98.1	101.7	104.9	100.0
Toys, Sport Goods	97.9	100.5	100.6	100.0
Silks and Velvets	96.5	108.5	115.3	100.0
China, Glassware	95.6	97.4	99.7	100.0
Patterns	95.4	98.6	102.9	100.0
Linens	94.7	100.1	98.6	100.0
Umbrellas	93.9	92.1	91.3	100.0
Floor Coverings	92.9	94.6	95.7	100.0
Domestics	91.0	102.8	97.8	100.0
Silverware	90.6	87.9	90.9	100.0
Men's Clothing	90.6	97.1	100.4	100.0
Corsets	89.0	91.4	96.5	100.0
Art Needlework	86.5	91.5	97.9	100.0
House Furnishings	85.1	89.8	97.3	100.0
Sweaters	81.9	71.1	79.6	100.0
Cotton Dress Goods	72.7	79.9	90.1	100.0
Laces	70.1	74.1	88.6	100.0
Women's Skirts	62.7	57.7	73.5	100.0
Woolen Dress Goods	53.8	65.8	83.3	100.0
Waists, Blouses	45.6	38.4	57.3	100.0
Women's Suits	34.1	28.8	82.1	100.0

* Table is based on the sales of 53 leading retail houses in the Fourth Federal Reserve District, including 39 department stores, 12 wearing apparel firms, 1 furniture house, 1 shoe store.

TABLE 10. INDEX NUMBER OF SALES BY DEPARTMENTS OF RETAIL STORES IN THE FIRST (BOSTON) FEDERAL RESERVE DISTRICT

(1924 = 100)

	1927	1926	1925	1924
Juniors' and girls' ready to wear	134	122	116	100
Misses' ready to wear	130	116	105	100
Misses' and children's hosiery	123	110	103	100
Silverware and jewelry	118	108	97	100
Knit underwear, glove silk	115	112	104	100
Furniture	114	109	105	100
Men's furnishings	113	110	104	100
Women's and children's shoes	110	110	104	100
Boys' wear	109	111	105	100
Women's and children's gloves	108	110	98	100
Millinery	105	106	99	100
Men's clothing	96	98	98	100
Silk and velvet goods	95	108	113	100
Corsets and brassieres	95	96	99	100
Silk and muslin underwear	93	96	96	100
Women's ready to wear	90	91	94	100
Cotton dress goods	68	79	90	100
Woolen dress goods	57	69	83	100

numbers of the American people enjoyed greatly increased prosperity, and with this growth in prosperity came a very great increase in interest in fashion. It has been more necessary than ever before for manufacturers and dealers of apparel to have the styles in goods that the people want when they want them, or fail entirely to secure their business.

The growth in fashion interest in part accounts for the growing prominence of one of the most outstanding evils of the apparel industry, style piracy, or copying of the successful styles designed by other organizations. No adequate method of protection has so far been devised to prevent copying.

The growth of interest in fashion has also increased the cost of production of apparel because of the need for better designing and, consequently, more expense in conducting designing and model-making departments. More representatives of the apparel industry both for men and women spend more

of their time in the style centers of the world watching new developments than ever before.

Along with the keen necessity for keeping apparel lines in fashion, which in turn necessitates a great deal of experimentation with new styles and in the making of new models, there has also grown up the demand for simplification. A great deal of thought has been given and is being given to the fact that, while a line of apparel may contain from 200 to 300 different models, three-fourths or more of the business volume is, as a rule, done on from 5% to 10% of the models presented. Obviously, the problem is how to discover what models will sell successfully in advance of the expensive experimentation now carried on in determining what consumers want.

Hand-to-Mouth Buying by Consumers

Another important change that has occurred since 1921 which constitutes a new problem to the manufacturers and distributors of apparel, is a movement of consumer demand from a season basis to a continuous all-year-round basis. Formerly both men and women concentrated their purchases in apparel during the spring and fall. With the change of seasons came peaks in buying activity, but since 1921 this tendency has greatly changed, so that in certain classes of apparel, such as women's millinery, purchases run almost the same for every month in the year and, as competent observers of the apparel industry have indicated, most women are good prospects for a new dress whenever something attractive can be placed before them.

Instead of two seasonal market openings accompanied by showings of new styles, there has developed a strong movement toward at least four seasonal openings corresponding to the regular seasons of the year. Many retailers, particularly in the northern part of the United States, believe there

should be five openings per year, taking place as follows: An opening in February for spring merchandise, another opening in April or May for summer merchandise, an opening in August for fall merchandise, an opening in October for winter merchandise, and another opening, the new proposal, in December for winter resort merchandise. The industry has had to meet these changing conditions in consumer demand by changing its old customs.

Changes in Business Methods

There have also been marked changes in business methods among the producers and the distributors of apparel since the depression of 1921. Beginning, in fact, with that depression, retailers throughout the country and wholesalers as well began to do their buying very definitely on what is known as the hand-to-mouth basis. Hand-to-mouth buying simply means placing orders merely for such quantities as can be sold immediately. Hand-to-mouth buying is sometimes called current buying, or buying for current needs.

Hand-to-Mouth Buying by Retailers

The tendency for buying from hand-to-mouth has placed special strains upon the manufacturers of apparel. Formerly it was possible, after producing a line of samples, to secure orders from dealers for requirements ranging from three to six months. According to such information as is at hand, it now seems that there is very little ordering for future requirements in the women's apparel trades, for periods longer than six weeks to two months. Manufacturers of men's wear are still able to secure some proportion of retailers' advance orders on the old seasonal basis, but the hand-to-mouth buying policy also seems to be gaining in the men's wear field very rapidly.

Because of the failure to secure dealers' orders in advance of production or at least in advance of the height of the season in which they are needed for retail, manufacturers must take the entire responsibility of making up stock without advance orders from retailers during dull seasons or shut up their plants until the active seasons again open. Dealers' orders under the hand-to-mouth buying system pour in during the active selling seasons, calling for immediate delivery. Thus, instead of uniform production from one season's end to another, the manufacturer is likely to find that he has, at most, six weeks of active production, ten weeks of low production, and another ten in which he is getting no business at all.

In the millinery and dress manufacturing fields, this condition has improved somewhat, owing to the fact that consumer demand has become less a matter of seasonal demand and more a matter of all-the-year-round demand, but in the manufacture of coats and suits, as well as in men's clothing and overcoats, the difficulty of securing balanced production throughout the year has been made much greater by the growth of the tendency to hand-to-mouth buying.

The marketing of apparel has also been considerably modified by the fact that buyers in these lines, as well as in all other fashion lines, come to market much oftener than they formerly did. Twenty-five years ago it used to be customary for buyers to visit market regularly twice a year, spend several weeks in the market at the time, give ample time to the consideration of many manufacturers' lines and then leave orders sufficiently large to take care of their retail store needs for several months. The hand-to-mouth buying policy necessitates more frequent trips to market. When the buyer comes he does not plan to spend large amounts of money, but puts in most of his effort in shopping and in buying small lots of merchandise or even samples for experimental try-out in his store.

Buyers' Frequent Visits to Market

The tendency of apparel buyers to visit markets frequently has been upsetting to the traditional sales methods of manufacturers. In some lines it has even become unprofitable to send out traveling salesmen. Many concerns have eliminated their traveling sales staffs, for the reason that buyers prefer to place their orders when in the market rather than when at home in their stores. The frequent calls of buyers in the market has also made necessary a different type of sales organization functioning all of the time in the manufacturer's place of business. It has also made it necessary that the head or chief executive of the manufacturing concern should give much more of his time to selling goods than to production as was the case in the past.

Rise in Importance of the Resident Buyer

The rise in importance of resident buying offices as factors in the distribution of apparel as well as other types of general merchandise has been very marked since the business depression of 1921. Resident buying offices came into existence long before, but showed the greatest growth in number and influence after 1921. Very few department stores and very few specialty shops dealing in apparel are not now members or clients of some kind of resident buying office. These offices serve their respective retail stores in many ways, but certainly the most important from the standpoint of the distribution of apparel, is the careful market study and reporting system that most of these offices conduct for the benefit of their members or clients. It has therefore become necessary for manufacturers of apparel to give much more time and thought than formerly to the cultivation of the resident buying offices. In-

stead of simplifying the sales problems of the manufacturers, the rise of the buying offices has greatly complicated matters.

Growth of the Chain Store

The growth of chain store systems since 1921 has been one of the most remarkable events of modern times. While most types of business suffered setbacks in 1921, a great many chain store systems moved ahead. It was formerly believed that chains could succeed best in staple, non-fashion lines of merchandise. From 1921, it became apparent that chains possessed great business vitality and were able to sell fashion goods. Chains dealing both in men's and women's apparel have, since 1921, showed remarkable progress. But chains usually represent large quantity buying power and, in their relations with manufacturers of apparel, are able to seek and obtain conditions which would not be possible in selling to small specialty shops or even to department stores.

Cooperative Buying

The creation of new sets of sales terms and selling conditions for chain stores has, however, raised questions of competition, not so easily solved, between chains and independent stores. The independents, sensing the strategic power of chain store systems in quantity buying, have in many instances organized for cooperative or group buying, with the result that the manufacturer in seeking a market for his apparel is confronted, first, by the necessity of making a distinction between chains and independent stores, and then finding that the independents themselves, through their cooperative buying organizations, are seeking all of the concessions given to the chains.

Cooperative or group buying is the natural result of the growth of chain stores, and as the chains continue to grow it

seems almost certain that cooperative buying will also grow. The problems of handling cooperative buying groups are both serious and irritating to the manufacturer without experience with this new form of buying organization. Despite the fact that the average apparel retailer is not naturally a good co-operator, cooperation seems to be the only way out for independent retailers who desire to preserve their businesses from the inroad of chains.

Cancellations and Returns from Retailers

The business depression of 1920-21 brought with it a havoc of retailers' cancellations and returns of merchandise. Cancellations and returns are not new in the business relations between retailers and their suppliers. But the business depression accentuated the difficulty manyfold. After 1921, when business began to right itself, it might have been expected that the evils of cancellations and returns would decline. However, the new tendencies in retailing, such as the struggle for higher turnover and the adoption of the policy of hand-to-mouth buying, resulted in a continuation of higher cancellations and returns of merchandise than had ever been the case before. Even during the years from 1924 to 1927, manufacturers in apparel lines asserted that returns of merchandise amounted to as much as from 5% to 15% of the gross sales. It is not intended here to suggest that the cause for these large percentages of returns rests entirely with retailers. Indeed, retailers have much too often had justifiable causes for complaint concerning the quality, workmanship, fit and other points about the merchandise supplied by manufacturers. On the other hand manufacturers, too, have had their just reasons for complaint against retailers who have undoubtedly grossly abused the manufacturers by returning goods on the claim that the

quality was not satisfactory but really because of the unjust intention to make the manufacturer stand the loss of mistakes made in buying. Cancellations and returns constitute evils in the relations between manufacturers and retailers which are very difficult to curb. The weakness of the manufacturing industry lies in the fact that there are thousands of the small concerns, many owned and managed by people who know little about business and who are willing to take any chance and make any concession in order to secure dealers' business.

The competition of individual manufacturers for business is so keen that many bad economic practices spring up almost spontaneously, such, for example; as placing goods in dealers' stocks on consignment or memorandum, a method which places a very great handicap on the many small concerns whose capital is entirely inadequate to finance merchandising under this sort of policy.

Convict-Made Goods

The industry as a whole is also under the necessity of protecting itself from the competition of prison or convict-made goods, particularly working clothes, such as shirts, overalls, jumpers, cheap underwear, aprons and house dresses. It has been repeatedly found that convict labor of various state prisons has been supplied by contract to produce these goods at rates much below the cost of labor outside with the result that ordinary factories employing regular hired labor cannot possibly compete.

Manufacturers' Buying Problems

Apparel manufacturers have their problems with the manufacturers and wholesalers who supply them with their raw materials, fabrics, sewing threads, needles, boxes, and so forth.

It does not seem that apparel manufacturers and manufacturers of fabrics have, in this country, been able to work out such cooperation on matters of fashion to the extent that the great dressmakers and clothing manufacturers of France and England have been able to cooperate with their fabric manufacturers. This sort of cooperation is something that would be very helpful and desirable, but remains to be achieved.

Cooperative Promotion

Manufacturers of apparel have been able to make a little progress toward cooperative purchasing, particularly in regard to supplies such as fibreboard boxes. It should be possible to carry such economies much further. It should also be possible for the manufacturers of apparel to follow fashion trends more closely, perhaps by cooperation with other manufacturers, and in that way eliminate much of the highly expensive experimentation that now goes on in every concern striving to solve the fashion problem. A beginning of the kind indicated has been made in the development of what is known as the Fashion-Coordination Bureau, Inc., in which manufacturers from each of several lines present what fits in with a general fashion scheme recommended by the Fashion-Coordination Bureau. Thus, there are silk fabrics from the silk manufacturer, woolens from a woolen manufacturer, hats from a milliner, gloves from a glove manufacturer, shoes from a shoe dealer, corsets, jewelry and ready-made apparel, all making up a complete ensemble style which the Fashion-Coordination Bureau offers and promotes to the retail trade as the current fashion. Through the clothing trade associations in the apparel fields, such as the Associated Dress Industries of America and the United Women's Wear League of America considerable co-



PLATE 145. CHANGE IN WOMEN'S APPAREL OUTFITS, 1913-1928

1913 OUTFIT

	Garment	Material	Yds.
I.	Waist *	Cotton	2½
II.	Vest or shirt *	"	1½
III.	Corset cover *	"	1½
IV.	Drawers *	"	2
V.	Petticoat	"	3½
VI.	Stockings *		
VII.	Corset or brassiere	"	2
VIII.	Underskirt	"	3
IX.	Tailored suit	Wool	3¼
	Total		19¼ yds.

* Several necessary.

1928 OUTFIT

	Garment	Material	Yds.
I.	Overblouse	Silk	2
II.	Vest or shirt * (Bandeau substituted)	Silk or rayon	¾
III.	Bloomers *	Silk or rayon	2
IV.	Skirt	" " "	2¼
V.	Stockings *	" " "	
	Total		7 yds.

* Several necessary.

The great changes that have occurred in the amount of clothing worn by women is clearly demonstrated in this illustration. A complete outfit in 1913 required 30 or more yards of fabric in addition to stockings. In 1928 not more than 9 or 10 yards are required. In 1913 the dress was frequently of wool or worsted material and the other garments of cotton. In 1928 the entire outfit is usually silk or silk and rayon. Besides the reduction in yardage required to clothe the 1928 woman, the amount of laundering has also been greatly reduced.—From *Journal of Commerce*, May 31, 1928.

operative progress has already been made. But the possibilities of cooperation among the various branches of the apparel industry, matters of mutual interest such as style coordination, marketing policies, studies in credit conditions, and so on, have as yet been scarcely more than touched.

Declines in Sales Due to Fashion

As indicated earlier in this chapter, one of the most outstanding difficulties presenting itself to the apparel industry after the depression of 1921 was the actual decline in demand for ready-to-wear clothing. This decline seems to be both relative in proportion to population and actual in dollar volume.

The tables prepared by the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, Ohio, and by the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, show definitely what the sales trends have been in apparel as well as other lines of merchandise generally sold through department stores and specialty shops. (See Tables 9 and 10.)

It will be found that the decline in certain types of women's apparel such as women's suits, waists and separate skirts is tremendous; thus, only a third as many suits were sold in 1927 as in 1924. Blouses and waists as well as women's skirts also showed considerable decline from 1924, although in each case in 1927 these items showed a slight advance over 1926. Ten years before, women's petticoats had suffered a similar decline and have almost completely passed out of use. (See Plate 145.)

According to these tables, it will also be noticed that sales in women's coats are merely holding their own. Men's clothing, both suits and overcoats, have shown very positive declines; similarly, men's shoes have also declined positively in sale as well as in numbers of pairs of shoes.

Some items in the apparel lines have shown increases.

Among these are dresses which now enjoy a higher sale than ever before. Accessories to women's wear have generally shown increases such as hosiery, jewelry, leather goods, handbags, gloves, and so forth. Knit underwear suffered very grave decreases in production and sale in the period immediately following the war, but began to show increases about 1924 and has gained very considerably since. Men's furnishings is the one item outstanding in which men's apparel has shown a decided gain in a period from 1924 to 1927 inclusively.

A study of the declines in production and sales in the apparel lines must, of necessity, be a matter of a great deal of concern to those whose interests are tied up with this industry. Much thought has been given to the possible reasons for the decline and a great deal of thought as to what might be done to remedy the situation.

Home Sewing

The suggestion is occasionally made that the decline in sales of ready-made apparel may be due to an increase in home sewing and in custom tailoring. A casual examination of the figures showing the sales of yard goods through department stores, as in Table 9, tends to dispel any belief in this theory. During the period from 1924 to 1927, inclusive, the sales of woolens, cottons and linens steadily declined, and silks were barely able to hold their own.

Another gauge of home sewing and to some extent of tailoring, is the sale of notions. One of the staple subdivisions of a notion department is made up of supplies used in garment making, such as threads, needles, pins, scissors, wax, tape, bindings, snaps, braids, buttons, and so on. Those familiar with the notion business in department stores report that the

sales of these items have steadily declined for several years, and the statistics for notions departments as reported by the Cleveland Federal Reserve Bank, and as may be noted in Table 9, show that these departments have barely held their own. In the face of the decline in sewing supplies such as listed above, notions departments have been able to hold their own because of adopting new items of merchandise, such as small items of hardware, soap, sanitary goods, moth preventatives, and so on. There seem to be no figures on sales through department stores or specialty shops that indicate a marked increase in home sewing.

The story told in the U. S. Census of Manufacturers for the pattern business, on the other hand, tends to support the view that home sewing may have increased, but the figures seem very erratic and do not tell a conclusive story. (See Plate 143.)

Similarly, in the investigations that have been made of home sewing it has always been found that a certain amount of home sewing is done in a large proportion of families, but the reports are vague as to just how much is sewed. Mention is made merely of types of items on which home sewing is done.

In conclusion, it is very doubtful that home sewing has in any large way had any effect on the sale of ready-made apparel, particularly since the business depression of 1921. Many excellent, well-conducted promotion plans have been evolved to push the sale of yard goods direct to consumers. There is no doubt but some of these have been highly effective in individual communities, and there is no doubt but such plans might appreciably increase the amount of yard goods sold by individual concerns, if properly applied.

At the present time there seems little likelihood of any increase in production of custom tailoring for men, a field in

which there are probably ten suits of clothes manufactured for every one made by a tailor.

Imports of Clothing

Some who have studied the causes of decline of the ready-made apparel industry in this country since 1921 have wondered if there might not be an explanation in the increases in imports to this country. A glance at the import figures in apparel lines will quickly show that this is not the case. (See Tables 11 and 12.) While the total of imports in all classes of apparel are in a sense impressive, they are wholly unimportant as affects their relationship to the total volume of clothing production and sales.

Changes in Dollar Values

Another explanation which does in part account for the decline in clothing production and distribution, at least in dollar volume if not in units, is the change in price levels. Prices in clothing rose very rapidly from 1914 through the war period down to June, 1920, when they reached their highest peak. Though clothing prices continued to fall during the latter part of 1920 and all through 1921, the complete cycle of decline was not ended then. Clothing prices continued to decline in a gradual way down to the end of 1927. This downward trend in price level has had the effect of making it unnecessary to pay as much for the same amount of clothing, so that if the same amount were purchased the total dollar volume would be lower. If it were assumed that population was stationary and also that during this period of increasing prosperity people would buy precisely the same amount of clothing in numbers of garments as they did in 1921, then

it may be assumed that the dollar expenditures for clothing might have fallen as much as 14% or 15% from December, 1923, down to December, 1927. The changes in price level have undoubtedly had something to do with the reduction in dollar volume of clothing production and distribution. However, some additional explanation is necessary, for it may be

TABLE 11. UNITED STATES IMPORTS OF WEARING APPAREL AND ALLIED ARTICLES

ITEM	1925		1926		1927	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
COTTON WEARING APPAREL:						
Wholly or partly of lace, etc.	.....	$1,037,698	.....	$ 623,657	.....	$ 716,999
All other	.....	747,652	.....	832,071	.....	895,357
HANDKERCHIEFS AND MUFFLERS:						
Not of lace or embroidered, lbs.	397,444	1,236,013	277,953	877,753	227,636	680,735
Lace-trimmed or embroidered, doz.	318,687	1,345,668	257,194	1,278,346	346,584	1,302,290
MANUFACTURES OF FLAX, HEMP, AND RAMIE.						
Wearing apparel	.....	370,901	.....	264,266	.....	326,522
Handkerchiefs—						
Not embroidered or of lace, doz.	1,690,964	2,465,011	2,777,204	3,297,181	3,715,897	4,005,633
Made of lace or embroidered, doz.	1,032,917	1,645,998	1,032,693	1,650,832	1,306,155	1,963,973
HATS, BONNETS, AND HOODS OF STRAW, GRASS, ETC. No.	24,353,983	7,903,968	29,570,503	10,271,413	32,498,536	9,054,775
WOOL WEARING APPAREL NOT KNIT, lbs.	2,778,230	7,776,667	4,374,502	10,416,372	.....	16,869,064
SILK WEARING APPAREL:						
Shirts, collars, and clothing, not knit	.....	2,865,978	.....	3,896,812	.....	3,789,988
Embroidered, etc., or of lace	.....	3,846,604	.....	4,192,397	.....	4,314,039
SILK HANDKERCHIEFS AND MUFFLERS:						
Hemmed or not hemmed, doz.	533,824	1,059,742	522,163	1,160,302	630,648	1,330,797
Embroidered or of lace, doz.	116,729	202,211	147,351	230,024	195,100	239,392
FUR-FELT HATS, No.	538,571	1,406.025	893,390	2,232,361	1,137,904	2,450,905
Total	.....	$33,910,136	.....	$41,223,787	.....	$47,940,433

TABLE 12. UNITED STATES EXPORTS OF WEARING APPAREL AND ALLIED ARTICLES

ITEM	1925		1926		1927	
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value
COTTON APPAREL:						
Men's—						
Collars and cuffs, doz	427,940	$ 683,373	362,639	$ 570,207	356,226	$ 524,524
Overalls, No	140,479	176,818	143,842	167,813	152,580	166,026
Underwear, not knit, doz	184,644	972,841	179,907	842,398	145,261	694,686
Shirts, No	2,608,066	2,496,780	2,433,475	2,340,351	12,514,608	1,987,960
Other cotton apparel, doz	.....	1,763,494	.....	1,602,404	1,112,789	1,418,447
Total value	.....	6,093,306	.....	5,523,173	.....	4,791,643
Women's—						
Corsets and brassieres, No	966,687	1,967,456	1,426,547	2,180,103	1,402,335	1,902,353
Dresses and skirts, doz	154,999	215,785	189,110	194,878		
Shirt waists and blouses, doz	86,449	74,464	43,782	28,209	208,548	228,847
Underwear, not knit, doz	37,665	240,506	20,264	79,400	17,284	59,248
Other cotton apparel, No	.....	547,741	.....	295,884	230,395	200,156
Total value	.....	3,045,952	.....	2,778,474	.....	2,390,604
WOOL APPAREL:						
Men's, No	.....	1,209,709	.....	639,098	185,623	557,655
Women's, doz	.....	573,228	.....	384,837	49,469	372,815
Total value	.....	1,782,937	.....	1,023,935	.....	930,470
SILK APPAREL:						
Underwear, No	109,649	237,237	83,226	169,219	71,389	143,942
Dresses, skirts, and blouses, doz	74,814	905,325	102,768	1,033,341	115,425	1,182,085
Other apparel, doz	90,706	676,542	73,176	507,463	.....	383,923
Total value	.....	1,819,104	.....	1,710,023	.....	1,709,950
HATS AND CAPS:						
Fur felt—						
Men's and boys', No	278,781	1,267,277	385,548	1,834,811	371,803	1,684,990
Women's and children's, doz	76,183	259,892	56,376	166,907	42,591	167,823
Wool felt, doz	168,903	286,411	110,178	183,819	183,724	223,755
Other, except straw, doz	1,328,383	1,228,219	1,037,124	977,206	1,065,634	866,126
Straw or fiber, doz	404,357	475,088	340,122	352,322	318,786	276,059
Hat braid of straw, yds	7,033,519	81,004	6,928,418	65,024	9,254,299	111,134
Hat trimmings	.....	533,324	.....	466,657	.....	345,589
Total value	.....	4,132,715	.....	4,046,746	.....	3,675,476
MISCELLANEOUS APPAREL:						
Garters and arm bands, doz	606,613	815,453	720,758	922,915	605,624	931,039
Suspenders, doz	47,757	154,817	35,518	114,254	30,945	102,438
Waterproofed garments, No	275,800	702,900	217,369	513,135	357,585	729,176
Handkerchiefs of cotton, doz	286,115	189,652	258,835	178,799	226,528	143,296
Total value	.....	1,862,831	.....	1,729,103	.....	1,905,949
Grand total	.....	$18,736,845	.....	$16,811,454	.....	$15,404,092

assumed that people enjoying a fair degree of prosperity generally increase their wants for more clothing and more varieties of clothing when the price of clothing goes down.

Clothing Savings Expended on Other Goods

It is possible that the decline in clothing consumption following 1921 was due, in part, to the standardization of styles and the continuation of the same fashions. In the main, there have been few radical changes in fashion in clothing either for men or women since 1921. It has been possible to wear most articles of clothing in common use for several years and still continue in fashion. Consequently, less needed to be expended for clothing, and the probabilities are that savings from the clothing budget have been utilized in other directions, such as for accessories, hosiery, handbags, costume jewelry, cosmetics, hair bobbing, and so on. Some savings that may have been made from clothing have undoubtedly gone into payments for automobiles, radios and other goods purchased on the instalment plan.

Instalment

It is more than likely that instalment selling on the large scale that has developed since 1921, has had something to do with the decline in production, sale and consumption of clothing. People who formerly expended their surplus means in better and more apparel have, by the inducements of instalment selling, purchased automobiles, radio outfits, and many other types of merchandise obtainable on the instalment plan, with the result that their funds have been constantly taken up for those purposes, and the purchase of clothing put off for a longer period than would otherwise have been the case.

Causes and Effects of the Rise of the Jobber

One of the most marked developments in the apparel industry following 1921 has been the decline of the so-called "inside" manufacturing organizations, and the rise of the jobber or stock house. The inside manufacturer is so-called for the reason that all of his manufacturing is done in his own plant. This is the practice usually followed in men's wear production in Chicago, Rochester and other middle west centers. It was the common practice in women's apparel down to 1910, when perhaps 90% of all apparel was made by manufacturers under their own roofs. Following 1910, the practice of cutting up fabrics and then sending them out to other concerns to be sewed and finished, grew by degrees. These concerns who do the work of sewing and finishing were called contractors, because their work was done on a contract basis.

Going back to 1910, there was still another type of manufacturer who operated through a factor, or, as he was known in the apparel industry, a stock house or jobber. The jobber bought and supplied the necessary fabrics but turned all of the work—including cutting as well as making, trimming and finishing—over to these manufacturers on a sort of contract basis. When the garments were completed, they were returned to the jobber who attended to the sale to the trade. Thus the jobber came to be a specialist in buying raw materials and in selling the finished products, leaving all manufacturing operations to other concerns working on a contract basis. Such manufacturers working for jobbers have been termed sub-manufacturers. As indicated above, in 1910, practically 90% of all women's wear apparel in the country was made by manufacturers in their own plants and without the help of contractors or sub-manufacturers. By 1924, this whole situation was reversed, so that less than 20% of the ready-made women's apparel was made by manufacturers under their own roofs,

and fully 80% was made by sub-manufacturers for jobbers. Thus the jobber has come to occupy a very important position in the production and sale of ready-made apparel for women.

The advantages of the jobbing or stock house system consist in the possibility of offering to buyers of retail stores the opportunity to buy from large complete stocks ranging, in the case of some stock houses, from 10,000 to 50,000 garments on hand, at all times ready for immediate delivery. These jobbers, as a rule, also carry a large number of styles and the styles are constantly changed, so that buyers may come from week to week and find entirely new models from which to make selections. Jobbing houses aim at quick turnover, once every sixty days at least, and in some cases as often as once in every thirty days. A turnover of ten times per year has been stated to be quite common. The jobbing house secures its quick turnover by specializing both in selling as well as in buying, by working on popular prices and on narrow margins of profit. It has been stated that the net profits of stock houses do not exceed from 2% to 5% of gross sales.

So large has the jobbing interest become in the women's apparel industry, that the statement has been made that the twenty largest concerns in New York City have a business volume of over $100,000,000 annually.

The jobbing organization depends for its production upon sub-manufacturers and contractors, of which there are in New York about 2,000. The sub-manufacturer bids in competition with his fellows for the jobber's work, and in that way the jobber secures the lowest possible production costs on his orders.

The rise of the jobber in the apparel trade is exceedingly interesting. To some extent and in a small way, the jobber has been in existence as long as the industry existed, but showed no particular tendency to come into prominence prior

to 1910 and grew rather slowly from 1910 up to 1919. His rise has been almost meteoric since that time.

For eighteen months following the war, as already noted, the demand for ready-made apparel was exceedingly keen. Manufacturers were wholly unable to take care of the orders that flooded in on them. Jobbers with large stocks on hand enjoyed a boom business. All channels of manufacturing were utilized, and while buyers who came to the jobbers could not always get what they wanted, the jobbers were able to give them something and so they prospered.

Prices, as indicated before, were rising rapidly and regularly during the entire period from the early part of 1919 to the middle of 1920. By the rapid methods of turnover utilized by the jobber, a profit was made on every transaction, not only on the finished goods but on the yard goods as well, which the jobber had purchased. Money was made rapidly. Others rushed into the business. So the jobbing business became a great institution in a short time.

Then there are the economies in overhead. Many of the jobbing houses conduct but little work in the creation of new designs, depending upon free lance designers and suggestions of sub-manufacturers for new ideas and new models. Sinister suggestions have frequently been made by inside manufacturers of the old type that the jobbers have not always been scrupulous in their adoption of designs which undoubtedly came from inside manufacturers' designing departments.

In addition to the savings such as indicated before, the jobber has cut down generally on his expense for traveling salesmen by making sales in the showroom to buyers who call rather than trying to take orders on the road.

The difficulties that manufacturers were having with their labor forces were completely evaded by the jobbers who looked to their sub-manufacturers to work out these problems. It

has been asserted by the jobbers themselves that it was the difficulty with labor and the trade unions, beginning as early as 1910, that led to the growth of the jobbing business and that the strike in 1919 which resulted in establishing weekly wage rates instead of piece rate rates for work in the women's garment industry, gave a special impetus to the jobbing movement.

The hand-to-mouth buying policy which came so actively into use following 1921 and the tendency of buyers to visit the markets frequently both helped to give the stock house and jobbing organization the upper hand in serving retailers with immediate shipment on merchandise that could be inspected on the racks instead of going to manufacturers to whom orders would have to be given in advance for delivery some weeks later on.

Obviously, the jobbing organization in the women's apparel industry has taken advantage of certain conditions and profited therefrom immensely, but the development of jobbing in the apparel industry has had certain far-reaching effects which has raised serious questions for the future.

One of the difficulties arising from the development of the jobbing power is the decline of the so-called inside manufacturer already referred to. There may have been lack of economy in an industrial system in which there were a great number of manufacturers, each attempting to create new styles for himself and to obtain a position in the fashion world. The jobber has eliminated much of the duplication that existed in the old inside manufacturing system by doing for manufacturers, who in this case are his sub-manufacturers, what was formerly done by each of these manufacturers for himself, and the jobber is probably doing it much more efficiently and certainly more economically. On the other hand, the elimination of so many inside manufacturers may possibly have, as we shall see, bad

effects on the development of art in dress production in this country.

The development of the jobbing system has also carried with it a great increase in the number of small manufacturing shops, the sub-manufacturers, which cater to the jobbing business. One of the interests of the jobbing business naturally is to have a large number of manufacturing shops to turn to for production, the larger the number, the more active the competition, so that the production under these conditions may be obtained at the lowest possible cost by the jobber, probably at much lower cost than he could possibly do the work for himself. But the system of small shops brings with it many drawbacks such as the difficulty of organization for improvement of any kind. It brings with it cut-throat competition which in the long run cannot do anybody a lasting good.

So under a system of decline of inside manufacturers and increase in number of small contracting and sub-manufacturing shops, it is claimed that there has been a decided decline in the quality of women's garments produced. The competition of these small manufacturers for the jobber's business has led to naming lower and lower prices, with the result that there has developed very serious skimping and cheapening of products. On the whole, these cheapening processes have not, as a rule, meant the use of cheaper materials, although this has taken place to some extent, but it has meant poor workmanship. All processes are done with greater haste, less attention and inspections, fewer stitches per inch and poorer foundation work, so that when the garments are completed their sides bulge, stitches give out and after a few pressings the garment loses its shape.

This is a severe indictment of the jobber-, sub-manufacturing system that has developed on such a large scale since 1921. There are men in the industry who believe and openly state that if this condition of manufacture is not definitely cor-

rected, it will lead to the decline of the industry and the probable rise again of the merchant tailoring system.

Another complaint is made against the jobber-sub-manufacturer system that it intensifies style copying. While many of the jobbers conduct their own designing departments on a very high grade basis with very competent people in charge, it is possible there may also be jobbing houses that do not make any contribution to the development of garment design. New designs, models and styles are constantly presented to jobbers by free lances and sub-manufacturers. Quite probably, jobbers themselves are not generally guilty of style copying, but with designs of styles coming in from so many channels it is not only possible but entirely probable that some of them should have come through illegitimate channels. There is no system of control or of ethics in the apparel industry which prevents the copying of designs, although all admit the evil.

There is no reason why the jobbing industry should not be able to conduct its own designing departments as well as the inside manufacturers do. The jobbing industry probably possesses as great means to do this as does the manufacturing industry, and the jobbing industry would undoubtedly carry through its work of designing as successfully as it does its other lines of work. The problem of design is not so pressing for the jobber as it is for the inside manufacturer, for the reason that—as we shall see—as a rule the jobber conducts his business in the medium and lower-priced lines of goods. It is in the higher ranges that design is most important.

Another difficulty concerning the jobbing system in the apparel trade is the power and influence wielded over the many small sub-manufacturers. The labor organizations in the needle trades recognize this and have attempted to place the responsibility for work done by sub-manufacturers on the jobbers.

Jobbers have contended that they were not manufacturers. Labor organizations maintain that the jobbers are really manufacturers. This is a problem that has not yet been solved.

Will the jobber remain the dominant factor in the apparel industry? Some believe that the jobbing system will bring ruin to the production of style because of the tendency to push down quality in order to make garments to sell at low prices. Unless efforts are made to correct this tendency, it is probable that the apparel industry will actually decline, or at least open the way for some new development such as custom tailoring and dressmaking, or an increase in importations of better styled goods from Europe.

Industrialization and manufacturing in the apparel industry gradually took the place of merchant tailors, because by factory methods it was demonstrated that it was possible to give quality, style, workmanship and everything else that a consumer might desire in garments at a decidedly lower price. If for any reason any one of these points such as quality or workmanship or the style of the garments produced should fall below what consumers expect, it is entirely probable that there might set in a trend in consumer demand toward some other channel than the present apparel industry for clothing.

Many of the leading jobbers themselves are alive to the possible dangers in this situation and, as a consequence, have developed very careful systems of inspection and supervision of the work done for them by their sub-manufacturers, and have even taken steps to assist in the standardization of the methods of manufacture, so as to insure that the quality of the products made for them might not fall below customary standards.

The trade unions in the needle trades in centers such as New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia and other places likewise sense the difficulty, and in New York where the job-

bing system has been most highly developed, they are apparently conscientiously seeking to help to save the industry from decline.

As a possible outcome from the difficulties associated with the jobbing system in the apparel trade, it is believed by some that the jobbing business is gradually finding its proper field which lies in the production and distribution of popular-priced garments, and that garments representing higher types of style and workmanship will continue to be made by the regular inside manufacturers. Thus, it is urged, the proper field for the jobbing business in the dress industry is in garments from about $29 down and in the coat industry from $39.50 down, and that the field of profitable operation for manufacturers is on garments ranging considerably above these prices. In between the logical price ranges of the jobbing organizations and of the manufacturer, there will, of course, remain a twilight zone of conflict. What may ultimately be determined by competition between inside manufacturers and jobbers as the profitable fields of operation for each remains to be seen.

The Trading-Up Movement

Some of the leading retailers of garments, particularly in the women's field but to some extent also in the men's field, have felt that there is great danger in working constantly to secure and to offer to consumers garments of lower and lower prices. It is felt that it is always easy to slip downward in an effort to get or even to keep up volume, and it is always easy to overlook the fact that there are many customers quite willing to pay higher prices if they can but secure what seems to them more attractive merchandise.

The tendency in the manufacturing of apparel, then, of constantly trying to cheapen the product has its limitations. Growing prosperity accompanied by the power to buy higher-priced

garments opens an opportunity for a business in better apparel, provided manufacturers and retailers are able to supply the demand.

Beginning in 1926, the Garment Retailers of America began a promotion campaign among its members and among garment manufacturers to make experiments all along the line with higher priced and better quality goods. It is not possible to say how much this movement of the Garment Retailers of America has accomplished. It is certain, however, that there should be a trading-up movement going on all the time in every store to insure that every possible effort is made to get the sales volume at selling prices that people are willing to pay, rather than to secure increased sales volume by trying to offer goods at lower and lower prices. Trading-up means giving to consumers higher quality and finer style and, naturally, at higher prices.

However, there may be a certain fallacy in the trading-up movement as considered by some retailers and manufacturers, particularly if generally applied. There are a great many families whose incomes are so low as to prevent the purchase of $100, $75 or even $50 dresses. Regardless of how many there may be able to buy these better types of garments, for the majority of the stores of the country who depend upon the custom of families with average incomes of $3,000 or even $2,000 per year, the great volume of business in garments will continue to be in the lower-priced lines.

It is, of course, just as possible to have a trading-up movement applied to $10 and $15 garments as to $75 and $100 garments. While there are probably many women who can afford to pay $75 or $100 for a garment, more perhaps than are now buying them, the fact is clear that the mass of women must find garments at costs lower than this or go without. There are a great many women who cannot pay more than

$39.50 per garment and still a greater number who must be supplied, if at all, with garments at $25 and even less.

In conclusion, the trading-up movement is soundly economic if soundly applied with the object of selling to each customer the best possible garment that the customer can afford to buy. In the long run, the customer will probably get more satisfaction from purchases made more nearly in line with her purchasing ability than from being offered something at a considerably lower price. The trading-up movement is, or should be, an educational movement in practical economics. The possibilities of net profits are very much brighter for the store with a higher unit sale, and there is also the possibility of the consumer being much better satisfied with a higher-priced garment. These are economic points that should not be overlooked. Any attempt, however, to force consumers to buy garments that are higher priced than their economic position will justify, is likely to turn out as sheer waste of effort if, indeed, it does not result in ill-will, dissatisfaction and loss of trade.

CHAPTER XVIII

STANDARDIZATION OF SIZES AND TYPES APPAREL

In those far off days when all clothing was made at home or by custom tailors and dressmakers, there naturally was no problem of standardization of sizes, for each garment was made to the measure of each individual. But when the factory system of producing ready-made apparel began in the middle part of the nineteenth century, the problem of standard sizes came with it. Factory production was impossible without size standardization.

The earliest clothing ready-made in this country was produced for sailors, slaves in the South and miners and lumbermen in the West. Workers' clothing was poorly and cheaply made and entirely in adult sizes. But little attention was given to fit and three or four sizes were considered enough to take care of the requirements of the trade.

Origins of the Present System of Sizes in Clothing

During the period of the Civil War, when the government ordered large quantities of clothing for soldiers, attention began to be given to sizes and to proper fitting. Since the days of the Civil War manufacturers of both men's and women's apparel have arrived at some sort of standard measurements of a more or less arbitrary nature by a process of trial and error. Manufacturers have produced and sold garments season after season and have corrected their scales of measurements from time to time as complaints have come in from their customers. A few manufacturers have given much more study to the

problem of sizes than indicated by this statement, but in the main, progress has been made by elimination of what has been found unsatisfactory.

The more scientific way of arriving at standard sizes would have been to work from actual measurement of a great number of people, but such measurements have not been available. During the Civil War, a great many young men were measured for height and chest measure at the time of enlistment, and these measurements compiled and tabulated served to some extent as a basis for the manufacture of uniforms. These measurements were the first to be made on a large scale in this country.

Again during the Spanish American War and still more in the period of enlistment for the World War, great numbers of men were measured, but while these measurements have been helpful, they have been inadequate as a scientific basis upon which to determine the production of men's apparel. Too many important dimensions were omitted. There have been no wholesale physical measurements for women corresponding to the army measurements of men, so that there is more of a problem of working out scientific sizes based on actual measurements than in the men's field. The most helpful statistics of measurements of sizes and proportions for women have been collected in some of the women's colleges such as Vassar, Smith and Pratt. The records of measurements in Vassar College run back to 1884 and are interesting not only because of the value of the measurements themselves in arriving at standard or typical sizes, but also in showing changes that seem to have taken place in the stature and physique of young American women since 1884.

For example, in the period from 1884 down to 1920, covering measurements for over 7,000 young women, it was found that the average weight increased six and one-half pounds. Feet increased in size. Waist measure increased more than

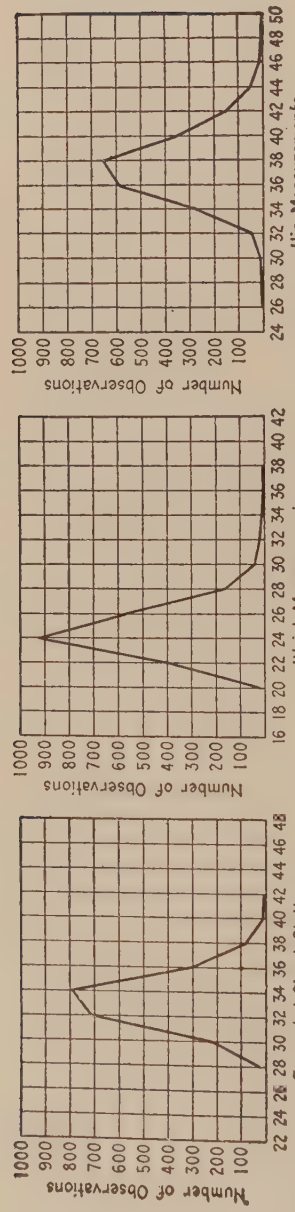


PLATE 146. DISTRIBUTION IN PHYSICAL MEASUREMENTS OF 2,139 YOUNG WOMEN IN THE PHYSICAL TRAINING DEPT., PRATT INSTITUTE.
From an article by George E. F. Saum, industrial engineer, in *Management and Administration*, January, 1925.

five inches above the average for the period from 1896 to 1905, the period of tightest lacing. There was also an increase of more than an inch in height, although the average of the students declined from 19 to 18.2 years.

Physical examinations of accepted candidates for life insurance include measurements of height, chest measure and weight. While these figures, like those from army measurements, do not supply all of the information needed for setting up clothing sizes, they do throw light on the distribution of proportions of various heights, chest measures and of sizes.

In a compilation of such figures for women made by the Association of Life Insurance Medical Directors, and the Actuarial Society of America, the distribution of height of women was found to be from 3′11″ to 6′5″. The number of women included in this distribution was 136,504.

According to this table, the most common height of

women is 5′4″, and 18.4% of the women included in this tabulation are of this height. Of all the women measured, 54% were found to be 5′4″ or less in height, the average height, however, being 5′4¼″.

In sizing apparel for women, 5′5″ is usually taken as the average height. All those below this height are considered as small women.

A study of the physical measurements of chest, waist and hips of 2,139 girl students in Pratt Institute ranging in ages from 18 to 25 and averaging about 20, supplies interesting information on the distribution by measurements and of the tendency of such measurements to group themselves in the bell-shaped curves. (See Plate 146.)

In interpreting these charts the relative youth of the girls measured should be kept in mind. They cannot be considered typical for women of mature years. Chest measurements were taken with lungs well filled. Measurements for fit of clothing are usually taken with chest in repose, that is, only partly filled. The sharp grouping of waist measurements at 24 inches is probably due to the use of corsets. A normal distribution

Table 13

Ratio of Variation Between Chest and Waist Measurements 2139 Female Students, Physical Training Dept., Pratt Institute

No. of Students	Expanded Chest In.	Waist in Inches										No. of Students	Average Waist of Group
		20	22	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38		
20	28	3	13	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	20	22.2
215	30	13	130	65	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	215	22.9
712	32	2	205	418	85	2	...	...	...	...	...	712	23.7
790	34	...	44	405	305	35	1	...	...	...	...	790	24.8
300	36	...	...	40	152	88	16	1	2	1	...	300	26.6
88	38	...	...	2	16	31	22	11	4	...	2	88	29.0
12	40	...	...	...	...	1	2	6	3	...	...	12	31.8
2	42	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	2	33.0
Totals 2139	.....	18	392	933	564	159	41	19	10	1	2	2139	.....
Average	33.36											Average	24.68

would have thrown the peak of this curve over to 28 or 29 inches. The bell-shaped curve showing the distribution of hip measurements is probably fairly representative of natural variations in figure when unhampered by corsets or other restricting garments.

Table 13, above, shows the correlation of waist measurements with chest measurements. The number of students at each chest measure step are distributed according to size of waist. Thus, of the 790 girls with a chest measurement of 34 inches, 44 had waists of only 22 inches, 405 measured 24 inches, 305 measured 26 inches, 35 measured 28 inches, and 1 measured 30 inches at the waist. As already indicated, the large proportion of girls with waist measures of 24 inches may have been due to corseting and it seems very likely that for the group with chest measurements of 34 inches the normal waist measurement would be about 26 inches.

There are several interesting and helpful reports of studies of height and weight in relation to age for children. The best of these have been summarized in a report entitled "Some Scientific Studies in Height, Weight, Age, Measurement of School Boys," published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York.

While this report presents measurements primarily for boys, there are also tabulations within the report showing average measurements for girls as well. The ages covered are from six months up to eighteen years. An excellent bibliography accompanies the report.

It is of interest to note that in one of the studies covered by this report, originally worked by Dr. Charles K. Taylor, most boys of a height from 51″ to 71″ fall in one or another of five classes designated as: (1) slender build; (2) medium slender build; (3) medium build; (4) medium heavy build; (5) heavy build.

Dr. Taylor's figures cover typical or average weights,

shoulder breadths, chest breadths, chest expansions, right arms, left arms, waists, hips, thighs, and calves in relation to each inch of height above 51". These figures should be very helpful, indeed, to the manufacturers of boys' clothing, including both outer apparel and underwear.

Distribution of Sizes

One of the interesting developments of all apparel studies of measurements when they cover a considerable number of cases is that the distribution of variations in size when put in graphic form assume a bell-shaped curve familiar to all statisticians. (See Plate 146). The greatest number of individuals naturally fall nearest the average or modal point of the curve of distribution, and the number of individuals diminishes as the variation from the average or mode.

This point is of exceedingly great practical value in working out either theoretically or practically a proper distribution of sizes for clothing of any kind, for men, women and children. To illustrate, suppose that the men's clothing merchant were to buy 50 men's suits of a certain line. Distribution of these suits by sizes in the regular size ranges would probably be as follows:

Size	Number of Suits to Buy
34	1
35	3
36	5
37	9
38	10
39	6
40	8
42	4
44	2
46	1
Total.....	50

In the foregoing tabulation showing distribution of clothing sizes for men, it will be observed that size 37 and 38 are the middle or average points for which the greatest number of individual suits are to be provided. Obviously, 37″ and 38″ are the average chest measures of adult men. It is probable that garments made for 38″ chest measure will fit more men than any other single size.

Ordinarily, a range in sizes from 34 to 46 will take care of most customer requirements in nearly every community. Size 39 seems to be an exception to the rule that variations from the central average fall off regularly and gradually both toward larger and smaller sizes. This may be due to the fact that a great many men with a chest measurement of 39″ prefer a looser garment, taking size 40. In times past there were no odd-inch sizes. Size ranges proceeded by 2″ differences, as is still the case after reaching 40″. Size 39 is one of the most recently added sizes and still seems to be disregarded to some extent. The lower chest measurements require somewhat more careful fitting than the larger sizes, for the reason that these sizes are generally worn by younger men who are generally more particular in the fit of their apparel than older men. This accounts for the full range of sizes by inch gradations below 38, whereas above 40 gradations are by 2″ steps.

The distribution of sizes of garments for women, when represented in graphic form, fall into the same bell-shaped form as the distribution of sizes for men. Thus women's dresses ranging in size from 34 to 46 would take care of the requirements of at least 50 per cent of the adult women of the country, but the great bulk of demand would fall on sizes 38 and 40 and there would be a decline towards 36 and 34 as well as towards 44 and 46. The following table shows a typical distribution of sizes as followed in retail stores buying garments for women:

Size	Number of Dresses to Buy
34	3
36	6
38	12
40	10
42	8
44	6
46	3
Total	48

The foregoing is an actual distribution scale such as used in ordering dresses in one of the leading department stores in the country.

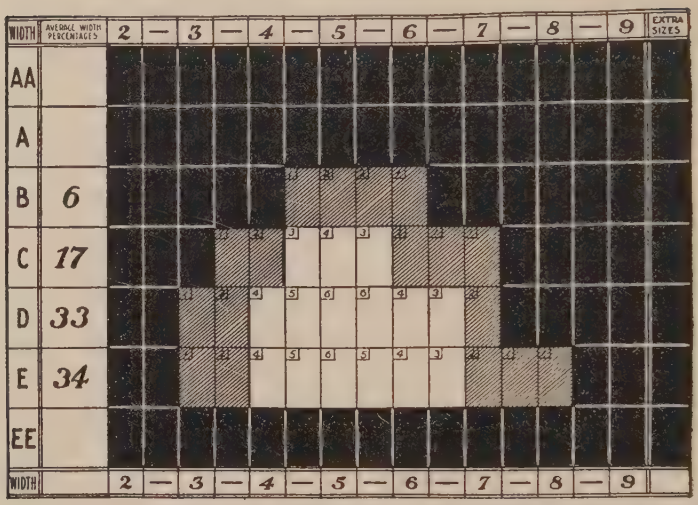
Similarly, women's coats ranging in sizes from 34 to 48 will be required in numbers about as follows:

Size	Number to Buy
34	5
36	9
38	10
40	10
42	8
44	5
46	2
48	1
Total	50

The same principle of distribution of sizes holds good for all classes of wearing apparel in which fit is a factor, for men, women, boys, girls and children. The buyer for an apparel department must, of necessity, take such distribution of sizes into consideration to avoid having left-overs, unsalable merchandise because of unsuitable sizes, particularly in the highest and lowest variations in sizes from the average.

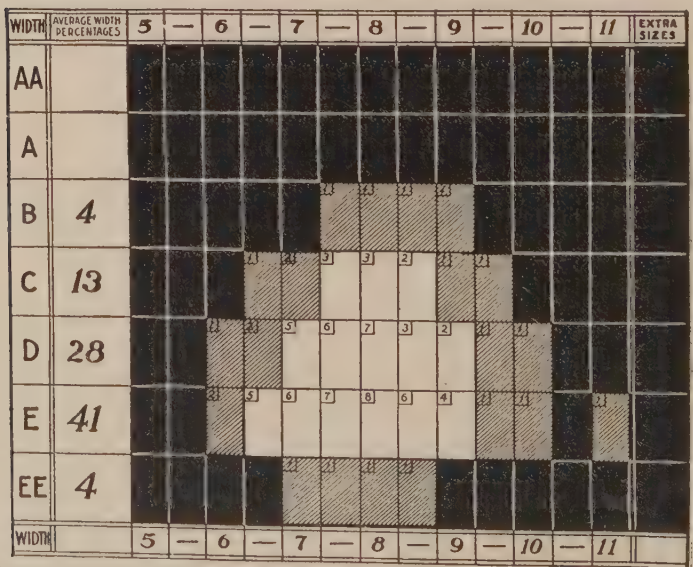
In items such as shoes in which there are two dimensions, namely, length and width, the graphic curve of distribution is more complicated, but the same principle still holds. For example, in men's shoes 8C may be considered as the size used by more men than any other. Therefore, more pairs of size 8C

DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN'S SHOE SIZES



About 65% of all women can be fitted by the sizes indicated in white spaces, 25% in shaded, and 10% in black spaces.

DISTRIBUTION OF MEN'S SHOE SIZES



About 67% of all men can be fitted by sizes indicated in white spaces, 23% in shaded spaces, and 10% in black spaces.

PLATE 147. DISTRIBUTION OF SHOES BY SIZES AND WIDTHS

must be provided in stock than any other size, with about an even decline in stock requirement from 8 toward 7 on the one hand, and 9 on the other, and so on. Similarly, the width C may be taken as the width used more frequently by men than any other, so that 8B and 8D would require fewer pairs in stock than 8C, and still fewer pairs would be needed for 8A and 8E.

The principle of distribution of sizes in shoes is well illustrated in the accompanying graphic charts. (See Plate 147.)

Elmer J. Bliss, president of the Regal Shoe Company, has devised an inventory control board which brings out the same principle. This control board is used in all of the Regal Shoe Company stores, and according to the statement of Mr. Bliss has helped to solve one of the major problems confronting all shoe stores, the elimination of slow-moving numbers.

Physical Sizes and Types

The problem of providing sizes for children at various ages up to adulthood is fairly simple and the extent of the market for apparel for various ages and sizes may be fairly well estimated by study of the figures of the United States Census. Thus, about 11% of the entire population of the country is under five years of age. Children of from 5 to 14 years of age make up 21% of the population. Young men and women of ages from 15 to 19 make up about 9% of the population. The remainder, not quite 60%, constitutes the adult population. The total numbers of men and of women are approximately the same, the only variations are that there are slightly more boys than girls under the ages of fourteen, there are slightly more girls than boys of the ages from 15 to 19, but there are more men than women of the ages from 20 to 44; from the age of 45 upward there are slightly more women than men. Such are the relationships of the sexes for the nation as a whole.

The differences in the numbers of each sex may be disregarded for the nation.

Students of the problem of proper sizing of apparel usually classify young men and women of ages of 15 years and up with the adult group, so that the number of adults makes up about 68% of the population. Out of a present population of 120,000,000 people, there are about 80,000,000 adults, of which 40,000,000 are men and about 40,000,000 women. This, then, is the market for apparel for adult men and for adult women respectively within the country. There are, in addition, about 12,000,000 boys and about 12,000,000 girls of the ages from 5 to 14, and something over 13,000,000 children under the age of 5.

Using the percentages showing the average distribution for the country, it may be possible to take the population of any state or community within a state and break it down into the proportions of adults, of children from 5 to 14 years of age and of children under 5 years of age.

However, there are undoubtedly wide variations from these general averages in many communities. Generally, the proportion of women is higher than men in the cities. In most of the older sections of the country there is a predominance of women. In the newer communities there are usually more men, as is also the case in purely industrial communities, but these differences are, as a rule, not very great and they are, if anything, declining rather than increasing.

The number of children under the age of 5 in proportion to the total population is usually higher in the newer communities than in the older centers. It is also usually higher in communities in which population has been rapidly growing by reason of immigration or incoming people from other communities or other parts of the country.

Making exceptions for such variations as indicated above,

it may be possible for a producer or distributor to draw up fairly accurate estimates of the total number of persons of each sex for various ages, and use this as a basis of estimate for the consumption of apparel of all kinds.

The experience of manufacturers of clothing and of distributors has shown that it is possible to produce garments of standard sizes that will fit, without unreasonable difficulties of alteration, about 50% of the population. At least half of the people are sufficiently alike in physical proportions to be fitted by clothing made according to regular standard sizes. The remainder vary from the standard types and require more or less change, not only in size but also in proportions, to fit properly.

It is estimated that approximately 90% of the young people between the ages of fifteen and nineteen may be fitted by the standard sizes for these ages, that about half of the adults from 20 to 44 may be cared for with standard sizes, but that only a third of the population from the age of 45 up may be properly fitted with such standard sizes. In early maturity there is less variation in shape and proportions of the human figure than in later life.

For many years, no effort was made by manufacturers of apparel to meet the requirements of any but those who could be fitted with the standard sizes. This meant that only about half of the adult population could be properly fitted with ready-made apparel. Shortly after 1900, however, there began to be progress in the construction of ready-made apparel for other than the normal sizes, and especially for stouts. By 1910, considerable development had taken place in the manufacture of apparel for stout people. Since 1910, there has been even greater progress in the production of sizes suitable for both men and women who cannot be fitted with the regular standard sizes.

The variations from the normal or standard size groups obviously include those of greater chest and waist measurements than the average, taller and shorter heights, and combinations of long stouts and short stouts. Most manufacturers of men's apparel producing general lines offer not only the regular sizes, but also stouts, shorts, longs, short stouts, long stouts, and a few manufacturers go still further in providing garments specially constructed to fit additional types known as forward, young-stout, portly, corpulent, and stalwart. These terms are probably sufficiently self-explanatory. Each type is carried through a complete range of sizes.

Since the regular sizes take care of approximately 50% of possible customers, the size ranges created for the abnormal or unusual types become more and more limited as they depart from the general or central average.

This may best be illustrated by representative tabulations such as are used in retail stores in setting up model stocks in men's clothing departments.

PROPORTIONATE QUANTITATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES FOR MEN'S CLOTHING

Type	Percentage	Sample Order Size
Regular	50%	25
Short	16%	8
Stout	12%	6
Long	10%	5
Portly	6%	3
Short stout	4%	2
Long stout	2%	1
Total	100%	52

In the women's apparel field, manufacturers have worked out measurements and sizes to meet the requirements of some of the women who cannot wear the standard or regular sizes. For adult women these variations are much the same as for men, with such differences as may be noted below.

DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES FOR WOMEN'S CLOTHING

Types	Per Cent of Total
Regular, including misses' sizes	50%
Short or little women	16
Regular stout	10
Short stout	8
Long stout	4
Stylish stout	6
Stubby stout	4
Junior	2
Total	100%

Variations in physical types together with approximations of the number of women in each type has also been expressed in diagrammatic form as shown in Table 14.

A brief explanation of the foregoing types may be helpful.

Regular sizes. A woman who wears a regular size has a figure which conforms approximately to the average. It is neither tall nor short, stout nor thin, and has a good carriage or posture. The average figure will have a difference of 7″ or 8″ between the bust measure and the waist measure, and the hips will be about 3″ larger than the bust.

Misses' regular sizes are more slender than women's regular sizes and are included with women's sizes, for the reason that they represent size types for the ages from 14 to 20 years, and many women who begin by wearing misses' sizes when in these ages, wear the regular women's sizes when they pass the age of 20 years. However, misses' sizes are worn by a considerable proportion of adult women.

The difference between the women's and misses' regular sizes is that the women's sizes are for more developed figures of normal height with soft curves and definite proportions, requiring more generous allowance for hips and bust than is found in the misses' garments. Misses' sizes, on the other hand, are straighter than women's regular sizes; the waist is a trifle shorter and the figure is more slender at the hip.

Short or little women include those that are under 5′ 4″ in

TABLE 14

ESTIMATED RELATIVE NUMBER OF WOMEN OF EACH FIGURE TYPE

	UNDER 5'3" SHORT 21%	5'3" TO 5'5.9" MEDIUM 50%	5'6" AND OVER TALL 29%
SLENDER 22%	SHORT-SLENDER 5% SS	MEDIUM-SLENDER 11% MS	TALL-SLENDER 6% TS
NORMAL 50%	SHORT-NORMAL 10% SN	MEDIUM-NORMAL 25% MN	TALL-NORMAL 15% TN
HEAVY 28%	SHORT-HEAVY 6% SH	MEDIUM-HEAVY 14% MH	TALL-HEAVY 8% TH

THE FOLLOWING THREE TYPES ARE INCLUDED IN THE NINE TYPES SHOWN ABOVE.

SHORT WAISTED—9% LARGE BUST—7%

LARGE HIPS—6%

Prepared by the Printz-Biederman Company, Cleveland.

height, but otherwise have the same measurements as the regular sizes. For example, the short or little woman, size 36, is shorter everywhere—that is, from neck to waist and from arm's eye to waist—than the regular 36, but has a comparatively fuller bust, wider hips and larger arm's eye than a corresponding misses' size.

No special provision is made, as a rule, by manufacturers of women's apparel for *tall or long women.* Tallness is cared for by extension of hem lines or other similar alterations.

The *regular stout* is tall and well proportioned, and the sizes are merely a continuation of the women's regular sizes with proportionately the same relationship between bust, waist and hip measure. The regular stout sizes begin with 42 bust measure and continue up to 56 or 58. A regular stout size 46 would have a hip measurement of about 50″.

The *short stout* is from 3″ to 5″ shorter than the regular stout, but with regular stout size bust and hip measurements. Garments made for this type usually allow extra width in the top of the sleeve, a larger armhole, shorter sleeve, fuller bust, wider hips, and shorter skirt. The short stouts are usually designated by quarter sizes such as 42¼, 44¼, 46¼, and so on to 52¼.

The type known as *stylish stout* is distinguished from the regular stout by a more fully developed bust and longer waist. The hips are small in proportion to the bust, being from 1″ to 3″ smaller than the bust measure. The stylish stout is designated by half sizes such as 42½, 44½, 46½, and so on to 54½.

The *stubby or odd stout* differs from the stylish stout in having less development of the bust, less width across the back, but a greater hip measure. While the stylish stout size 44½ with a bust measurement of 49″ would have a hip measurement of 48″ or less, the stubby stout, usually designated by odd numbers, size 45, with a bust measurement of 47″ would

have a hip measurement of 51″. The stubby or odd stout type runs from 35 up to 55 by odd-numbered sizes.

Measurements of regular sizes in women's apparel range from 14 (or even 12) in misses' sizes up to 20, and then from 34 up to 42, and thereafter by even numbers through the *regular stout* sizes up to 56.

Short or little women's sizes are usually indicated by odd half sizes—thus, 13½, 15½ 17½ and 19½—followed by women's half sizes, 37½, 39½, and so on up to 53½.

Junior sizes have been designed for girls of from 13 to 16 years of age who still have the physique of children, but who desire garments which give them more of a grown-up look. These garments are rather narrower in the shoulders and more flat-breasted than regular misses' sizes. Junior sizes are designated as 13, 15, 17 and 19.

The Problem of Correct Sizing

Despite the efforts of manufacturers and of distributors of apparel for many years, there is no carefully defined set of standard sizes for outer apparel, either for men or women. There is a great deal of variation in actual measurements for any given size as one passes from one manufacturer to another. These variations seem to occur in all kinds of clothing. It seems to be a problem in both women's and in men's apparel. Thus, in the women's apparel field, a check-up of measurements made by certain retail stores of garments supplied by different manufacturers has shown that a size 36 blouse varied in bust measure from 36″ up to 45″, the back width for the same size varied from 13½″ to 15″, the armhole size varied from 16″ to 19″, neck sizes varied from 13½″ to 15½″, waist sizes varied from 29″ to 31″ and hip sizes varied from 37″ to 42″.

The variation in measurements becomes even greater in the

TABLE 15. RELATIVE BUST, WAIST AND HIP MEASUREMENTS USED BY DIFFERENT PATTERN-MAKING COMPANIES, SPRING OF 1924

Prepared by George E. F. Saum, Industrial Engineer, published in *Management and Administration*, January, 1925.

COMPANY	BUST									
	32	34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50
	WAIST									
A	24–25	26–27	28–29	30–31	32–33	34–35	36–37	38–39	40–41	42–43
B	.....	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42
C	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42
D	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42	.....
E	24	26	28	30	32	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
F	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	.....
G	.....	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42
H	23	24	26	28	29	31	33	35	37	39
Suggested Standard	24	26	28	30	32	34	36	38	40	42
	HIPS									
A	35	37	39	41	43½	46	48½	51	53½	56
B	....	37	39½	42	44½	47	49½	52	54½	57
C	35	37	39	41	43½	46	48½	51	53½	56
D	35	36	38	40½	42½	45	47½	49½	52	....
E	35	37	39	41	43	....	....	....	....	....
F	34	36	39	41	43½	46	48½	51	53	....
G	....	37	39	41	43½	46	48½	51	53½	56
H	35	36	38	40	41	43	45	47	50	51
Suggested Standard	35	37	39	41	43	45	48	50	53	56

larger sizes. Even in grading sizes above 36 there are often startling differences. In the following table (Table 15) the variation in sizes is well illustrated. Actual waist and hip measurements for each size from 32 to 50 as followed by eight pattern manufacturing companies in 1924 are given and the present writer has set up a tentative average or modal measurements for waist and hips for each size as a suggestion on what the standard measurements should be.

Under these conditions, both the consumer and the retailer suffer great difficulties. .Much more time is required to find

the proper fit than would be the case if sizes were standardized. Neither consumer nor salesperson can be certain that any size is going to fit, even if that size as designated on the garment tickets represents what has been satisfactorily worn before.

Lack of any general standards of size also results in very great increases in alteration expenses for retailers. Garments that do not fit properly because not properly proportioned or not properly graded, require alteration in order to make them salable.

The most fruitful cause of returns from customers is wrong size or improper fit. According to several reports of studies of the returned goods evil wrong sizes is given as the reason for return by customers in more than 20% of cases. A proper system of standardized sizes would eliminate a large part of this.

Garments that are returned because badly fitting not only require more fitting and more selling effort, but also invariably result in greater markdowns and adjustment expense.

In addition to the expenses referred to above resulting from lack of standard sizes, the most important point is the loss of good will of customers who rarely ever forget their dissatisfaction in connection with the purchase of badly fitting garments.

Most of the difficulties referred to above are unavoidable as long as there continues to be no general system of standard sizes. With the best of intentions on the part of everyone concerned, it is too much to hope that all of the manufacturers of apparel should be prevailed upon to make garments according to certain measurements, unless some strong force is applied. As long as there are no standards set up by some central authority, there are almost certain to be individual manufacturers who, in order to cut prices to secure orders, will skimp measurements and save production cost. Thus women's garments, particularly lower-priced dresses and coats, are in a high per-

centage of cases, made with scant measurements. The sleeves, are generally small, there is an insufficient grading of length. Often two or three sizes are cut together and dishonestly designated by the different sizes. Fabrics made in figures, stripes or plaids are often wrongly cut and put together, and so on. Skimping the measurements is one of the commonest methods of producing apparel to sell at a price, with a result that unsatisfactory fit very often more than counterbalances the economies of production. As already indicated, larger sizes of garments are even more generally badly sized than any of the regular sizes.

Recognition of Need for Standard Sizes in Apparel Industry

Nearly everyone connected with the manufacture or sale of garments for men or women seems to favor the establishment of a system of standard measurements of sizes for garments. Several trade associations have gone on record urging such standardization, including the National Garment Retailers Association, the National Retail Drygoods Association, the United Women's Wear League of America, Associated Dress Industries, Inc., and many state associations.

The methods recommended by which to secure a system of standard sizes are are follows:

1. *By action of trade associations.* This at first sight seems a very practical suggestion; it corresponds to the practice now prevailing in many trade associations of standardizing and eliminating little used or non-used sizes, models, types, etc. There is no doubt that the adoption in the apparel field of standard sizes by trade associations would be a decided benefit to the members of those associations. There is, however, a decided disadvantage in this method, in that there is no general trade association covering the entire apparel field. As a result,

any standardization of sizes in one type of apparel worked out by one trade association serving a particular field, might be, and probably would be, very different from a standard of sizes worked out in other allied apparel fields. Different sets of standards in each field of apparel manufacture would give but little advantage over the present condition of no standards.

2. *By central bureau or organization supported by all the apparel trade associations.* A central bureau created for the purpose of working out standard sizes and then issuing licenses to individuals of various industries to use and advertise the use of proper sizes as established by this central agency, is a plan that merits careful consideration. This plan would naturally obviate the difficulty of independent action of the various trade associations, but to establish such a central bureau would involve enormous organization effort in bringing the various trade associations together to support the plan.

3. *By government designation.* Many business men believe that the Bureau of Standards of the federal government should be asked to conduct the necessary studies, set up the definitions of sizes, and then promulgate and authorize them as standards are now established and enforced for the regular weights and measures. Others who favor some government aid in establishing size standards do not think that it is practicable to define a size 36 by law in the manner that a bushel or a gallon is defined. Something of that sort may come sometime, but in the meantime progress, if it is to be made, must be the result of cooperative effort within the apparel industry either with or without the help of the government.

The best piece of work so far undertaken and carried into effect in the direction of standard sizes and measurements has been made by the Associated Knit Underwear Manufacturers of America for knit underwear. This work was done with the cooperation of the Federal Bureau of Standards under which the research work was carried on. As a first step, a

study of the size situation in the knit underwear field was made, from which the necessary information was secured upon which to establish the size standards. The findings of the study were submitted by the Bureau of Standards to the association for final review and adoption. The method used in this study was to compile and tabulate all of the measurements used by the various manufacturers that were members of the association. From the information so collected, averages were calculated for each size, and from these averages there were set up practical standard measurements for each size by each type, including a certain percentage of tolerance of variations to entitle a manufacturer's garment to be designated by a certain size.

Members of the association and also manufacturers of underwear that are not members of the association, are entitled to use the standard size label of the association on garments made according to the measurements laid down in this study. All that is necessary is that the manufacturer who desires to use these standard sizes must assure the association that the sizes shall be adhered to strictly. This assurance is to be secured by license and inspection. If this plan secures general adoption, as it deserves, it will prove a great advantage to the dealer and ultimate consumer desiring standard sizes. The association also believes that the use of the standard size label will tend to take the knitted underwear out of the bulk merchandise class and make it specialized merchandise. Violations of the license or attempts to use the label without license are to be prosecuted. There is no obligation on anyone, not even the members of the Associated Knit Underwear Manufacturers of America, to use this label or to adopt the standards set by this study. However, the advantages of the use of such standards are so great that it would seem that before long more or less general adoption would be secured, excepting manufacturers who produce cut-price or sub-standard merchandise.

Such goods will undoubtedly be made as heretofore, until some position is taken by the government to curb the dishonesty of skimped garments as it has already taken against the adulteration of foods and drugs and dishonesty in weights and measures. There probably is no more reason why there should be a standard pound, a foot, a bushel or a quart than that there should be a standard size 36. The problem of standard sizes will probably never be finally settled until the government is induced to take steps to define what each size is, and to enforce truthful representation in sales and advertising such sizes.

In conclusion, there should be systems of standard sizes that mean something in the garment field. There is common agreement upon this point, but there is as yet no common agreement as to what the sizes should be or how they should be enforced. That some method of securing standard sizes will be found is practically certain. The losses to manufacturers, retailers, and, most of all, to consumers because of the lack of such sizes, is very great. Whenever business sense is awakened to this problem, this waste will not be tolerated.

4. *By international agreement.* It would also be desirable to have an international understanding as to sizes, although this may be more difficult to accomplish than merely a national system of sizes. Some suggestion, however, has been made in this direction, particularly by apparel manufacturers in Europe, who continually have difficulties with the markets they supply in other countries because of differences in sizes. Thus, English manufacturers of apparel find that Canada demands American sizes, Australia desires somewhat larger measurements for the same sizes, it seems, and the continental countries have still different systems of sizing from those used in the English-speaking countries. A suggestive working scale of sizes coming from British manufacturers, urged for international adoption, is presented below.

SUGGESTED INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF REGULAR SIZES FOR WOMEN

Suggested Sizes	Measurements (in inches) Bust	Hip	Suggested Sizes	Measurements (in inches) Bust	Hip
13	32	34	21a	41	43
13a	32½	34½	22	42	45
14	32½	35	22a	43	46
15	33	35	23	44	47
15a	33½	35	23a	45	48
16	34	36	24	46	49
17	34½	36½	24a	47	50
18	35	37	25	48	51
18a	35½	37½	25a	49	52
19	36	38	26	50	53
20	38	40	26a	51	54
21	40	42			

There is much to commend the idea embodied in the British suggestion. It deserves more serious attention than it has received so far. That it runs contrary to established custom, that the sizes suggested will take care of not to exceed 50% of adult women, and that to secure its adoption may require a great deal of work on the part of those who undertake to secure its adoption, are not fundamental and insuperable objections. The suggestion is worth more study by the apparel industries.

In Appendix II there are presented a number of tables containing size specifications in use in the manufacture of apparel at the time of writing this chapter. The reader desiring specific, practical information on standardization of sizes is referred to this section.

Standardization of Types of Apparel According to Use

As has already been stated, the earliest ready-made clothing was work clothing. The production of clothing outside of homes, however, was found both so necessary and so profitable that it gradually spread to clothing of other types. Even

during the early part of the nineteenth century there had been a limited production and sale of fine outer clothing such as mantuas (as cloaks and mantles for women were called) and overcoats. There was even a notable importation of these garments from abroad, but the volume of such goods sold must have been relatively small.

Following the Civil War and particularly after the panic of 1873, many thousands of people turned to ready-made clothing for most, if not all, of their outer wear requirements. Hence, there began to be outer garments made and offered for sale for various purposes both for men and for women.

For many years, ready-made men's apparel has been available in types suitable for all sorts of purposes, such as formal wear, for weddings, balls, theatre parties and receptions; informal evening apparel; formal day apparel for day weddings, afternoon affairs of importance and ceremonies; informal day apparel for informal weddings, teas and social affairs in town and formal weddings in the country; business or lounge wear, club or private affairs in the country during the day in summer; sports wear for country, golf, motoring and riding; hot weather apparel for wear during extremely warm days, in summer, in town or country; and work clothing of many kinds and types.

Types of apparel for women correspond somewhat to the types for men, excepting that there are not so many varieties. For women there are formal evening wear, town and afternoon apparel, business apparel, sports wear and work clothing. While there are not so many varieties of types, women's clothing makes up for it by variety in material, color and design, whereas there are rather firmly fixed specifications for the various classes of men's clothing.

If the reader cares to go into detail regarding the character of these types of apparel by use, he should consult the current trade and fashion papers and up-to-date books on etiquette,

which describe these types of apparel and indicate under what conditions each type may be used.

Generally, some difference in type of apparel exists for differences in age for both men and women. However, these differences are not so distinguished as they formerly were. Neither elderly men nor women need to change their types of clothing so much as they grow older as they formerly did. Neither age, nor the types of clothing that distinguish age, are in fashion.

Color or Complexion Types

The attempt has also been made from time to time among both manufacturers and retailers to classify consumers, particularly women, according to their complexion types, so that apparel might be offered that would be becoming in color or shade. This, it has been felt, is fully as important as providing proper fit. Offering a light customer a garment suitable for brunettes is as likely to provoke dissatisfaction as a garment that fits badly.

Complexion types are usually classified as blondes, brunettes, in-betweens, titians and grays, based on color of hair. It has been estimated that of the total population of women in the United States, about 40% are blondes, 20% brunettes, 20% have brown hair but are not distinctly brunette, 10% are titian, and 10% are gray.

The fashion magazine, *Vogue,* has offered the following classification of color types of women: the black and white type with black hair and very pale skin; the Murillo type with black hair and high, rich skin colorings; the blonde with blue eyes and skin the color of cream and roses; the in-between type who is neither blonde nor brunette and who has brown hair but blue or light eyes; the red-haired type, the auburn-haired type, the prematurely gray type and the white-haired type.

Classifications of color or complexion are interesting and suggestive, but they have so far had very little influence on the manufacture and wholesale buying of clothing. The difficulties of producing garments suited to color types based on information other than past experience are, so far, insurmountable. According to such past experience, certain percentages will want black, others blue, others brown, still others gray, and so on.

The main difficulties to production control based on color seems to be the great variation in complexions. As a matter of fact, there are very few people who are decidedly blondes or brunettes. Most people combine colors of hair, skin and eyes in a great variety of ways, with the result that it is a really difficult matter to determine to just what standard the average individual belongs.

Furthermore, color is not yet a fixed determinant in consumer choice. Preferences are largely personal. There is no general acceptance among all classes of people of what is fitting and suitable and, above all, color preference is subject to fashion trends. There is also a view held by many students of color and art that almost any color can be worn by any complexion type, if of the right quality and used in the right combinations. Consequently, the problem of manufacturing and selling clothing to color types is far more difficult than making clothing according to sizes and physical types. Color remains one of the most baffling and unstandardized factors in consumer demand. Despite artistic principles on the one hand, and occasional waves of fashion on the other, color is a field in which individual preference runs very high.

Personality Types

Considerable effort and some progress have been made in the way of classifying customers, particularly women consum-

ers, according to personality types. In addition to the value that such classifications may have to the manufacturer in the production of clothing, and to the retail store in its selection of clothing for the people of its community, there is no doubt that such a classification has sales promotion value. Women customers are impressed by the efforts made to meet their mental as well as physical requirements.

The classification of personality types most frequently used begins with three fundamental types: the dramatic—tall, dignified and stately; the ingénue—short to medium height, light to medium complexion, sprightly or animated expression; and the athletic—broad-shouldered, vigorous and active. Three other types are derived from these, namely, softened dramatic, athletic ingénue, and ingénue-athletic.

One of the best known stores on the Pacific Coast, Bullock's in Los Angeles, has devised a list of personality types which is fairly representative of the work done in this line. The following paragraphs are quoted from promotion material issued by the store. They describe the six types and suggest the kinds of apparel that may give the best satisfaction:

Six types! Rather general divisions but quite dependable. Though, of course, sixty times six variations of the "six types."

But very seldom that a woman may not effectively key her wardrobe to one of the six.

1. Romantic! The romantic type possesses a very delightful heritage from a more leisurely age. The trick of looking as though one adored poetry and might even keep a diary. And usually it is a trick. An often effective pose that the modern girl assumes—particularly in her dance frocks.

To go in for the romantic—one must be slender—youthful. One must possess the figure to go in for panniers, basques, puffings. The romantic type's own fabrics are taffeta and organdie. Usually rather delicate colors. Rose-wreathed hats. Parasols. Sashes.

2. Statuesque! Tall, a bit remote. Usually blonde. Though frequently white-haired. An impression of dignity that comes with height or an impression of height. Black velvet evening gowns. Trains. Trailing negligees. Picture hats. Feather fans.

The serenity of Italian cypress trees and white peacocks in a moonlit garden.

Line rather than decoration. Luxurious fabrics.

3. Artistic! A bit enigmatic. Usually with a suggestion of the foreign. Usually dark-haired, dark-eyed.

A type that may accept vivid colors, bizarre embroideries, eccentric jewelry.

The artistic type welcomes the revivals of Egyptian, Russian and Chinese motifs and colorings.

Peasant necklines. Berets. Hand-loomed fabrics.

4. Picturesque! The gray or blue-eyed woman with fluffy hair. Or the gray-haired woman who is not too dignified. Delicate coloring. Essentially feminine. Rather soft in outline. Soft, unassertive fabrics. Not too much decoration. No eccentric color combinations. Clothes that do not proclaim their charm too quickly.

5. Modern! The fashionable type. The woman who can fit herself into the latest mould without discomfort. Just now shingle-bobbed. Boyish. Sleek. Skirts short when they are so. And longer than anybody's when they are so.

6. Conventional! Not a true type. Rather the modification of a type. The young girl too reserved to go in for her type enthusiastically. The older woman too stout to dare the type things she once could wear. The economical dress. The more than a season hat.

Other classifications based on personality have been devised both in retail stores and in schools of home economics and dress design. This appears to be another fruitful field for further study. The foregoing will serve as an illustration of the kind of work done so far.

In conclusion, the processes of standardization have gone far toward providing much more than a majority of the population with well-fitted, factory-made garments. Much remains to be done to eliminate the wastes due to lack of uniform standards in sizes. There remains a small proportion of people of atypical figures who cannot be properly fitted with factory-made garments and who, if they are to be fitted properly, must resort to extensive alterations of available garments or go to custom tailors and dressmakers. There will always be a small proportion of the people who can never be fitted well by any system of standard sizes. It will not pay to establish factory production patterns to secure their trade. They must depend upon handcraft methods for their garments. The tendency of modern manufacture, however, is to reach down for more and more of these atypical classes, and thereby open up new markets not formerly reached. The limits of this movement are obviously the limits of profitable production.

The development of standardization in the future in the field of apparel is likely to show progress in securing better and better color effects suited to individual wearers, and in meeting the requirements of individual taste and personality types. The outlook for apparel manufacture and distribution is certainly toward greater complexity of problems rather than simplicity, hence the greater need for immediate solution of such obvious difficulties as uniform standard sizes.

APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

TABLES OF STANDARD SIZE SPECIFICATIONS FOR WOMEN'S APPAREL

The following tables of size specifications have been prepared from schedules actually in use in garment manufacturing concerns and in retail concerns that order on specification and check garments received for standard sizes. There are, as pointed out in Chapter XVIII, great variations in size specifications among garment manufacturers and it is not expected that those who use specifications differing widely from the figures presented here will be favorably inclined to these. The lack of scientific research in this field precludes any possibility of a dogmatic statement as to which set of specifications is right.

The object of presenting this set of specifications in this book is to suggest the need for further research and incidentally start the movement by setting up something to be challenged and corrected as more authoritative information becomes available.

There are certain practical considerations in the use of size schedules which should be borne in mind. For example, size 36 means a bust measurement of 36 inches with the lungs moderately filled with air. The dress bust measurement given for size 36 is usually 39 inches, that is, 3 inches in additional circumference are allowed for easy fit and comfort. The garment is not made skin-tight. The sleeve length given presupposes a full length sleeve measured along the line of the underarm seam.

Sizes vary greatly with the current fashion. When straight line or tubular garments are in vogue, the waist measure means

little or nothing. When short sleeves or no sleeves at all are the fashion, the sleeve length varies accordingly. Neck openings are neglected in these specifications for the reason that they vary greatly with the fashion. A high neck opening in a regular woman's dress, size 36, should measure about 15 inches. Variations in V neck openings would range from 18 to 25 inches according to the depth of the V.

Hip measurements are taken 7 inches below the waist line. Measurements of around arm, cuff opening, waist lengths, length of skirts, and sweep of skirt are, of course, largely matters of fashion and will vary accordingly from season to season.

The following tables present measurements for dresses only. Specifications for coats would require an additional inch measurement for bust and for hips, with a little extra allowance for the measurement across the back. Raincoats are made still fuller so that about 3 additional inches must be added to bust and the same for hips in comparison with the standards here set down for dresses. Bathrobes are made with a bust fullness of about 4 inches more than dresses, and house dresses are made with 2 inches more fullness than regular dresses. Thus a women's regular size 36 is made with an actual bust measure in the finished garment of 39 inches and an actual hip measurement of 40 inches. Coat measurements for a size 36 should be 40 and 41 inches for bust and hips, respectively; raincoats, size 36, should measure 42 and 43 inches; bathrobes should measure 43 and 44 inches; and house dresses 41 inch bust measure.

Table 16 presents the size ranges for women and girls, both in regular and special sizes.

Table 16. Standard Sizes in Apparel for Women and Girls

Regular Sizes				Special Sizes						
Infants'	Girls'	Misses	Women's	"Flappers"	Juniors'	Misses' Half Sizes	Small Women	Stylish Stouts	Odd Stouts	Short Stouts
3 mos.										
6 "										
1 year										
2 "										
3 "										
	4									
	5									
	6									
	7									
	8									
	9									
	10									
	12			12						
					13					
							13½			
	14	14		14						
						14½				
			32		15					
							15½			
		16	34	16						
						16½				
					17					
							17½		35	
		18	36	18						36¼
						18½	Short Stouts			
					19				37	
		20	38				37½			38¼
								38½		
			40				39½		39	40¼
								40½		
			42				41½		41	42¼
								42½		
			44				43½		43	44¼
								44½		
			46	Regular Stouts			45½		45	46¼
								46½		
			48				47½		47	48¼
								48½		
			50				49½		49	50¼
								50½		
			To 56				53½	To 54½	To 55	To 52¼

TABLE 17. GIRLS' REGULAR SIZES

Sizes	2–3	4–5	6–7	8	10	12	14
Bust	21–22	27½	28½	29½	30½	32	33½
Waist		26	27	28	29	30	31
Hips		30	31	32	33	34½	36
Sleeve Length		10	11½	13½	14½	15½	16½
Width of Back		10	10½	11	11½	12	12½

TABLE 18. MISSES' REGULAR SIZES

Sizes	14	16	18	20
Bust	34½	36	38	40
Waist	25	26	27	28
Hips	36	38	40	42
Sleeve Length	17	17½	18	18
Around Arm		13½	14	14½
Width of Back	13	13½	14	14½

TABLE 19. WOMEN'S REGULAR SIZES

Sizes	32	34	36	38	40	42	44
Bust	35	37	39	41	43	45	47
Waist	26	27	28	30	31	33	35
Hips	37	39	41	43	45	47	49
Sleeve Length	18	18	18	18	18½	18½	18½
Around Arm		13	13	14	14½	15	15
Width of Back	13½	14	14	14½	14½	15	15½

WOMEN'S REGULAR LARGE SIZES

Sizes	46	48	50	52	54	56
Bust	49	51	53	55	57	59
Waist	37	40	42	44		
Hips	50	53	55	57	59	
Sleeve Length	18½	19	19	19	19	20
Around Arm	15½	17				
Width of Back	16½	17	17			

TABLE 20. "FLAPPERS'" SPECIAL SIZES

Sizes	12	14	16	18
Bust	32	33½	35	36½
Waist	28	29	30	31
Hips	34	35	37	38
Sleeve Length	16	16½	17½	18

TABLE 21. JUNIORS' SPECIAL SIZES

Sizes	13	15	17	19
Bust	34	35	36½	38
Waist	26	27	28	29
Hips	36	37	38	39
Sleeve Length	16½	17	17½	18
Around Arm		13½	13½	14
Width of Back	13	13½	14	14½

TABLE 22. MISSES' HALF SIZES

Sizes	14½	16½	18½
Bust	35	37	39
Waist	26	28	30
Hips	38	40	42
Sleeve Length	17	17	17½
Width of Back	13	13½	14

TABLE 23. SMALL WOMEN'S SIZES

Sizes	13½	15½	17½
Bust	33	35	37
Waist			
Hips	37	39	41
Sleeve Length	16½	17	17½
Width of Back	13	13½	13½

TABLE 24. STYLISH STOUTS

Sizes	38½	40½	42½	44½	46½	48½	50½	52½	54½
Bust	43	45	47	49	51	53	55	57	59
Waist	31	33	35	37	39	41	43	45	47
Hips	42	44	46	48	50	52	56	58	60
Sleeve Length	18	18	18	18	18	18	18½	18½	18½
Around Arm	15½	16	16½	17	17½	18	18½	19	
Width of Back	14	14½	15	15½	16	16½	17	17½	

TABLE 25. ODD STOUTS

Sizes	35	37	39	41	43	45
Bust	37	39	41	43	45	47
Waist	28	30	32	34	36	38
Hips	41	43	45	47	49	51
Sleeve Length	18	18	18	18	18	18
Width of Back	14	14½	15	15½	16	16½

Sizes		47	49	51	53	55
Bust		49	51	53	55	57
Waist		40	42	44	46	48
Hips		53	55	57	59	61
Sleeve Length		18½	18½	18½	18½	18½
Width of Back		17	17½	18	18½	

TABLE 26. SHORT STOUT SIZES

Sizes	36¼	38¼	40¼	42¼	44¼
Bust	41	43	45	47	49
Waist					
Hips	48	50	52	54	56
Sleeve Length	17½	17½	17½	18	18
Around Arm at Fullest Part	16¼	16¾	17	17¼	17½
Width of Back	14	14½	15	15½	16

Sizes		46¼	48¼	50¼	52¼
Bust		51	53	55	57
Waist					
Hips		58	60	62	64
Sleeve Length		18	18	18	18½
Around Arm at Fullest Part		17¾	18	18¼	18½
Width of Back		16½	17	17½	18

TABLE 27. WOMEN'S BLOUSES

Size	34	36	38	40	42	44
Bust	40	42	44	46	48	50
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	19	19	19	19	19	19
Upper Arm	14	14½	15	15½	16	17
Open Cuff	8½	8½	9	9	9½	9½
Across Back	14½	14¾	15¼	16	16½	17
Back Length	22	22	22	22	22	22
Front Length	24½	24½	24½	25	25	25
Hip Band	38	39	41	42	44	46
High Neckband	15½	15½	16	16½	17	17½
High V Neck	18	19	19	20	20	21
Deep V Neck	25	25	27	27	28	28

Size	46	48	50	52	54
Bust	52	54	56	58	60
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	20	20	20	20	20
Upper Arm	17½	18	18½	19	19½
Open Cuff	10	10	10	10½	10½
Across Back	17½	18	18½	19	19½
Back Length	24	24	24	24	24
Front Length	27	27	27	27	27
Hip Band	49	51	53	55	57
High Neckband	18	18	18½	19	19
High V Neck	21	21	22	22	22
Deep V Neck	28	28½	28½	29	29

Kimono Blouse 2 inches larger in bust than set-in sleeve.

TABLE 28. CHILDREN'S TWO-PIECE MIDDY DRESSES

Age	7	8	10	12	14
Chest	34	35	36	37	38
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	14	14½	15½	16½	17
Upper Arm	11	11½	12	12½	13
Cuff Opening	7	7½	7½	8	8
Across Back	13	13½	14	14½	15
Back Length Back of Neck to Hem	19	19	20	21	22
Front Length from Shoulder to Hem	20	20	21	22	23
Neck Opening	23	23	24	24	25
Sweep of Middy	33	35	36	37	38
SKIRT:					
Waist Length from shoulder to waist Line	13	14	15	15	15
Waist Measure of Skirt	30	31	32	32	34
Length of Skirt from shoulder to bottom of hem—3 in. hem	27	28	32	36	40

TABLE 29. MISSES' PLAIN BOTTOM MIDDIES

Age	14	16	18	20	22
Bust	37	39	41	43	45
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	17½	18	18½	18½	18½
Upper Arm	14	14½	14½	15	15½
Across Back	15	15½	16	16½	17
Cuff Opening	7½	7½	7½	8	8
Back Length	24	24	24½	24½	25
Front Length	25	25	25½	25½	26
Around Neck	25	25	25	25½	25½
Sweep	38	38	40	42	44

TABLE 30. MISSES' CUFF BOTTOM MIDDIES

Age	14	16	18	20	22
Bust	37	39	41	43	45
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	17½	18	18½	18½	18½
Upper Arm	14	14½	14½	15	15½
Across Back	15	15½	16	16½	17
Cuff Opening	7½	7½	7½	8	8
Back Length	21	21	22	22	23
Front Length	22	22	23½	23½	24½
Hip Band	37	37	38	39	40
Neck Opening	25	25	25	25½	25½

TABLE 31. WOMEN'S BLAZER SPORT SHIRTS

Size	34	36	38	40	42	44
Bust	40	42	44	46	48	50
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	20	20	20	21	21	21
Upper Arm	15	15½	16	16½	17	18
Cuff Opening	8½	9	9	9½	9½	10
Across Back	17	18	19	20	21	21
Back Length from neck band to bottom of hem	25	25	26	26	27	27
Front Length from shoulder seam to bottom of hem	26	26	27	27	28	28
Hip Band above knitted fabric	39	40	43	44	45	47
Neck	16	16½	17	17½	18	19

TABLE 32. MISSES' BLAZERS

Age	14	16	18	20	22
Bust Measure	38	40	42	44	46
Upper Arm	14½	15	15½	16	16
Across Back	16	16½	17	17½	17½
Cuff Opening	8	8½	8½	9	9
Sleeve Underarm Seam	17½	18½	18½	19½	19½
Back Length from neck band to bottom of hem	24	25	25	25	25
Front Length from shoulder seam to bottom of hem	25	26	26	26	26
Hip Band above knitted fabric	38	38	40	42	44
Neck	15	15½	16	16½	17

TABLE 33. GIRLS' LUMBERJACKS OR BLAZERS

Age	6	8	10	12	14
Chest	34	36	37	38	40
Sleeve Length Underarm Seam	14	14½	15½	16½	17½
Upper Arm	12	12½	13	13½	14½
Cuff Opening	7	7½	7½	8	8
Across Back	14	14½	15	15½	16
Back Length	20	20	21	22½	23
Front Length	21	21	22	23½	24
Hip Band above knitted fabric	33	35	36	37	38
Neck	12	12½	13	14	14½

TABLE 34. WOMEN'S KNICKERS

Size	24	26	28	30	32	34
Waist	24	26	28	30	32	34
Front Rise	13	13½	14	14½	15	15½
Back Rise	19	19½	20	20½	21	21½
Inseam	18	18½	19	19½	20	20½
Thigh	30½	31	31½	32	32½	33
Seat at Crotch	57	58	59	60	61	62
Cuff Opening	14	14	14¼	14¼	14½	14½

TABLE 35. STOUT WOMEN'S KNICKERS

Size	35	37	39	41
Waist	35	37	39	41
Front Rise	16	16½	17	17½
Back Rise	22	22½	23	23½
Inseam	19½	19½	19½	19½
Thigh	33½	34	34½	35
Side Length	32	33	34	34
Seat at Crotch	63	64	65	66
Cuff	15	15½	15¾	16

TABLE 36. GIRLS' KNICKERS

Age	7	8	10	12	14
Waist	25	26	27	28	29
Outside Seam	24	25	26	27	28
Cuff	11	11½	12	12½	13
Front Rise	11	11	11½	12	13
Back Rise	13½	13½	14½	15	16
Inseam	14	15	15½	16½	17½
*Seat at Crotch	38	40	41	42	44
Thigh	24	25	26	27	28

*6 inches allowance on all peg top knickers (seat).

TABLE 37. WOMEN'S AND MISSES' RIDING BREECHES
(Laced Cuff Style)

Size	24	26	28	30	32	34
Waist	24	26	28	30	32	34
Hip 7 in. below waist line	37	39	41	43	46	48
Thigh	29	30	31	32	33	34
Front Rise	13	13½	14	14½	15	15½
Back Rise	18½	19	19½	20	20½	21
Side Length	31	32	33	34	35	35½
Inseam	21	21½	22	22½	23	23
Bottom of Leg Opening	11¼	11½	11¾	12	12¼	12½
Knee Measurement 9 in. from bottom	14¼	14½	14¾	15	15¼	15½

TABLE 38. WOMEN'S BLOOMERS

Size	Regular	Extra
Elastic Waist Band Stretched	52	62
Hip 7 in. below waist	54	66
Seat at Crotch	56	70
Inseam	16	16
Front Rise	18	19
Back Rise	20	21

TABLE 39. WOMEN'S COSTUME SLIPS

Size	Small	Medium	Large	Extra Lge.	XX
	34/36	38/40	42/44	46/48	50/52
Bust	38	42	46	50	54
Hip	45	50	55	60	64
Sweep Plain Bottom	52	54	58	64	68
Silk Sweep Pleated Bottom	66	68	70	76	80
Shoulder Straps	16	16	16	17	17
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